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Society**

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GENERAL INDEX VOLUME IX, 1904.

Beard, W. E., Sketch of Mrs. Anne Royall, by.....	343
Beaumont, Henry Francis, Biography of Thomas Emmerson, by	141
Bell, Hon. John, of Tennessee. Letter to Hon. James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin.....	274
Bilbro Family.....	353
Blakey Family, the, Sketch of.....	119
Blakey Family of Kentucky.....	374
Bowling, Dr. W. K., Tribute of, to Dr. Paul F. Eve.....	307
Breathitt Family, The, Sketch of.....	114
Breathitt Family of Kentucky.....	392
Chickasaw Treaty of 1818, The. By James D. Porter.....	252
Doolittle, Hon. James R., of Wisconsin, letter from Hon. John Bell, of Tennessee.....	274
Dunlap, Hugh, Letter on the Founding of Knoxville, by.....	179
Dunlap, Hugh, Sketch of. By John S. Dunlap.....	179
Dunlap-Jackson Correspondence.....	83
Editorial.....	279
Emmerson, Thomas, Biography of. By Henry Francis Beaumont.....	141
Eve, Paul Fitzsimons, A.M., M.D., LL.D. Portrait. Facing.....	281
Eve, Paul Fitzsimons, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Sketch of. By R. A. Halley..	281
Eve, Dr. Paul F., Bibliography of the Writings of.....	313
Ewing Family of Kentucky.....	383
Franklin, Constitution of the State of.....	399
Garrett, Dr. William Robertson. Portrait. Facing.....	105
Garrett, William Robertson, A.M., Ph.D., Sketch of. By A. V. Good- pasture.....	105
Gattinger, Dr. Augustin. Portrait. Facing.....	153
Gattinger, Dr. Augustin, Sketch of. By R. A. Halley.....	153

George Family, the Sketch of.....	123
Goodpasture, Albert V., Sketch of William Robertson Garrett, A.M., Ph.D., by.....	105
Goodpasture, Ernest W., Sketch of Gen. Nathaniel Taylor, by.....	193
Halley, R. A., Sketch of John McCormick Lea—The Ideal Citizen, by..	1
Halley, R. A., Sketch of Dr. Augustin Gattinger, by.....	153
Halley, R. A., Paper Making in Tennessee, by.....	211
Halley, R. A., Tennessee Archæology at St. Louis. (Illustrated.), by...	257
Halley, R. A., Sketch of Paul Fitzsimons Eve, A.M., M.D., LL.D., by....	281
Ham Family.....	373
Historical Teaching and Investigation in the South, The Recent Revival of Interest in. By Dr. Frederick W. Moore.....	201
Houston, Samuel, Some of the Main Features of His Trial for Contempt. By Gov. James D. Porter.....	187
Jackson's Attitude in the Seminole War. By David Y. Thomas.....	145
Jackson-Dunlap Correspondence.....	83
Jackson's Oration at the Tomb of Mary Washington.....	277
Killebrew, Col. J. B., Remarks on the Death of Judge John M. Lea, by..	56
Knoxville, Founding of. Letter of Hugh Dunlap.....	179
Lea, Judge John M. Portrait. Facing.....	1
Lea, John McCormick—the Ideal Citizen. By R. A. Halley.....	1
Lea, Judge John McCormick—An Eulogy. By Dr. Frederick W. Moore..	31
Lea, Judge John M., Remarks on the Death of. By Col. George C. Porter.	47
Lea, Judge John M., Remarks on the Death of. By Gen. G. P. Thruston.	53
Lea, Judge John M., Remarks on the Death of. By Col J. B. Killebrew..	56
Lea, Luke, Sketch of.....	1
Lewis, Meriwether, The Death of. By J. H. Moore.....	218
McFarland Family.....	352
McFarland Genealogy.....	356
Marr, Major George W. L., Sketch of.....	350
Menees Family, of Nashville	352
Menees Family, of Robertson County.....	373
Menees, James, Sr., Sketch of.....	70
Mences, John, Family of.....	365

Mill Creek Church, Career of.....	235
Moore, Dr. Frederick W., An Eulogy on Judge John McCormick Lea, by..	31
Moore, Dr. Frederick W., Sketch of the Recent Revival of Interest in Historical Teaching and Investigation in the South.....	201
Moore, J. H., The Death of Meriwether Lewis.....	218
Paper Making in Tennessee. By R. A. Halley.....	211
Polk, Mrs. James K., Genealogy of.....	239
Porter, Col George C., Remarks on the Death of Judge John M. Lea, by...	47
Porter, Gov. James D., Some of the Main Features of Samuel Houston's Trial for Contempt, Narrated by.....	187
Porter, Gov. James D., The Chickasaw Treaty of 1818.....	252
Rodes Family, The. By Frank Rodes.....	183
Rodes, Frank, Sketch of the Rodes Family, by.....	183
Rose, Dr. Wickliffe, Estimate of Dr. Gattinger's Character and Charac- teristics, by.....	174
Royall, Mrs. Anne, Sketch of. By W. E. Beard.....	343
Scotch-Irish Family, Annals of a. By Dr. William H. Whitsitt.....	58, 113, 231, 352
Taylor, Gen. Nathaniel, and Some Papers Relating to his Service in the War of 1812. By Ernest W. Goodpasture.....	193
Tennessee Archæology at St. Louis. By R. A. Halley. (Illustrated.)....	257
Thomas, David Y., Jackson's Attitude in the Seminole War.....	145
Thruston, Gen. G. P., Remarks on the Death of Judge John M. Lea, by...	53
Washington, Mary, Jackson's Oration at the Tomb of.....	277
Whitsitt Family of Nashville, Tenn., The. By Dr. William H. Whit- sitt.....	58, 113, 231, 352
Whitsitt Family of Kentucky.....	380
Whitsitt, James (Menees), Family of.....	243
Whitsitt, Reuben Ewing, Family of.....	249
Whitsitt, Samuel Dawson, Family of.....	247
Whitsitt, William, Family of.....	246
Whitsitt, William, the third, Sketch of.....	67
Whitsitt, Dr. William H., Annals of a Scotch-Irish Family: The Whit- sitts of Nashville, Tenn., by.....	58, 113, 231, 352

American Historical Magazine.

CONTENTS VOLUME IX, 1904.

NO. 1.—JANUARY.

John McCormick Lea—The Ideal Citizen.....	1
Judge John McCormick Lea—An Eulogy.....	31
Remarks of Colonel George C. Porter before the Tennessee Historical Society, November 10, 1903, on the Death of Judge John M. Lea...	47
Remarks of General G. P. Thruston before the Lea Memorial Meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society, November 10, 1903.....	53
Remarks of Colonel J. B. Killebrew before the Lea Memorial Meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society, November 10.....	56
Annals of a Scotch-Irish Family: The Whitsitts of Nashville, Tenn.....	58
Dunlap-Jackson Correspondence.....	83

NO. 2.—APRIL.

William Robertson Garrett, A.M., Ph.D.....	105
Annals of a Scotch-Irish Family: The Whitsitts of Nashville, Tenn.....	113
Biography of Thomas Emerson.....	141
Jackson's Attitude in the Seminole War.....	145
Dr. Augustin Gattinger.....	153
Founding of Knoxville.....	179
The Rodes Family.....	183
Samuel Houston.....	187
General Nathaniel Taylor and Some Papers Relating to His Service in the War of 1812.....	193

No. 3.—JULY.

The Recent Revival of Interest in Historical Teaching and Investigation in the South.....	201
Paper Making in Tennessee.....	211
The Death of Meriwether Lewis.....	218
Annals of a Scotch-Irish Family: The Whitsitts of Nashville, Tenn.....	231
The Chickasaw Treaty of 1818.....	252
Tennessee Archæology at St Louis.....	257
Interesting letter of Hon. John Bell, of Tennessee, to the Hon. James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin.....	274
Jackson's Oration at the Tomb of Mary Washington.....	277
Editorial—	
Announcement.....	279
A Correction.....	279

No. 4.—OCTOBER

Paul Fitzsimons Eve, A.M., M.D., LL.D.....	281
Mrs. Anne Royall.....	343
Major George W. L. Marr.....	350
Annals of a Scotch-Irish Family: The Whitsitts of Nashville, Tenn.....	352
Constitution of the State of Franklin.....	399

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JANUARY, 1904.

No. 1.

JOHN McCORMICK LEA—THE IDEAL CITIZEN.

BY R. A. HALLEY.

John McCormick Lea was born at Knoxville, Tenn., on Christmas Day, 1818, and died at Monteagle, Tenn., on the 19th day of September, 1903, being thus very near the end of his eighty-fifth year. For two-thirds of a century he had been a resident of Nashville, a citizen who honored the city of his choice by his residence in it. His life was not one of adventure or one filled with strange events, nor could he tell of many such startling things as make matter for a ballad. He lived a quiet life, placid and little ruffled, marked with such characteristics as belong to the highest type of manhood and good citizenship. He played his part in the drama of life and left the world better for his having been in it.

The father of John M. Lea was Luke Lea, a man well known and favorably mentioned in the annals of the State; who held positions of honor and trust, and who served his country in many capacities. Luke Lea's wife was Miss Susan Wells McCormick, a daughter of ——— McCormick and Nancy Tevis Armstrong. Luke Lea was the son of Major Lea, who married Elizabeth Wilson. Nancy Tevis Armstrong was the daughter of James Armstrong and Miss Wells, whose father was the founder of Wellsburg, W. Va. Major Lea was a Baptist minister, who came from England and settled in Virginia. From

NOTE. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Frederick

Virginia he removed to the Yadkin River section in North Carolina, and thence to the State of Franklin while that short-lived governmental experiment was in existence, and, therefore, before Tennessee was admitted into the Union. He located near Knoxville, where the family remained. There Luke Lea grew up, and from that place he went to serve as a soldier in the Indian wars. Returning from the wars, he was for many years the cashier of the old State Bank, at Knoxville. He afterwards represented the Knoxville district in Congress, and was later Land Agent for East Tennessee, at which time he removed the Cherokee Indians to the Indian Territory. He was thrown from his horse and killed near Independence, Mo., whither he had gone as Special Indian Commissioner at the request of President Fillmore.

James Armstrong, who was better known to people of his time as "Trooper" Armstrong, was so-called from his having been an officer in the famous Enniskillen Dragoons, and migrated to this country from Ireland shortly after the close of our Revolutionary War. But his days of fighting were not done, for he served in the American army with distinction in the War of 1812.

On both sides, therefore, John M. Lea's ancestors had shown themselves to be men of action, men who took their parts in the world's struggles and triumphs.

Luke Lea was born in 1792 and lived until 1851. He had a large family, but cared for them well and gave them all the advantages of education that were available to the better class of citizens in those days.

John M. Lea at an early age showed a strong desire for knowledge and a fondness for learning, and fortunately had both the means and the capacity for obtaining them. Indeed, he was always peculiarly fortunate in his pursuit of an education. Naturally fond of study from his earliest years, and eagerly seiz-

Rock, near Wytheville, Va. Mr. Piper was a very accomplished and successful teacher, and a man of great force of character and strength of mind. When a young man, Mr. Piper was the hero of a story that was in the school readers of fifty years ago; he was the youth who nearly lost his life by climbing up the precipice at the Natural Bridge in Virginia in order to carve his name higher than that of George Washington. Mr. Piper impressed himself very strongly on John M. Lea, who never failed to attribute much of his success to him. Mrs. Piper survived her husband very many years, and to the time of her death Judge Lea would invariably remember her at Christmas time, and always sent her some token of that remembrance.

From the time that he went to Virginia to school, John M. Lea never lived at his father's home again except for brief intervals. He came to Nashville and entered the University of Nashville in 1834, and was so attentive and absorbent of learning there that he graduated in 1837, having completed the prescribed course in the summer of that year. He was then nineteen years old, and had made good use of his time. Coming to Nashville when the University of Nashville was under the guidance of Dr. Philip Lindsley, he had again enjoyed exceptional opportunities, and in all his after years was accustomed to attribute his success in life to Doctor Lindsley. The distinguished president of the University forcibly impressed upon his mind the fact that he should study for the pleasure of knowing, and for the power that knowledge gave him. He emphasized the value of habits of punctuality, and the strictest observance of all obligations. These teachings became potent factors in shaping Lea's after career, for never did student more faithfully heed the admonitions of a teacher than he heeded these.

Returning to East Tennessee after graduation at the University, he decided on the law as a profession, and began reading at Athens in the office of Spencer Jarnegan, a legal giant of those times, eminent in law and politics and afterwards in the United States Senate from Tennessee. Jarnegan was a distinguished lawyer and was connected with many cases, but was especially noted as the counsel for the Cherokee Indians in the celebrated case of Foreman against the State. In this case he

won undying reputation. It involved the right of the Cherokees to make their own laws, as opposed to the right of the State to enforce obedience of the Indians to the statutes made by the State. The Indians were victorious in the United States Supreme Court, but the States of Georgia and Tennessee disregarded the decision, the Georgia officials hanging the Indian they had been directed to release. Subsequent inevitable clashes between the States and the Indians were avoided by removing the Indians to the west of the Mississippi River.

John M. Lea had before this time begun to think for himself. When a mere youth of fifteen years he did not hesitate to express his convictions. At that time, in 1833, his father was in Congress from East Tennessee. About the time that his father was expected home John had been thinking of the slavery question, and wrote and sent to the Maryville, Tenn., weekly an article which he signed "Amicus Libertatis," advocating the abolition of slavery. He hesitated about letting his father know that he had written the article until he could find out what he thought of it. So he placed the paper conspicuously on his father's desk, or table, and left it there. When he came into the room some time after his father had had an opportunity to read the article, his father said to him: "John, I see some fool has been writing an article to the Maryville paper advocating the abolition of slavery. If he raises a discussion on that subject he is going to defeat me for Congress when I run again." He thereupon, decided that he would not be justified at that time in letting his father know the authorship of the article so criticised. His father did not, in the slightest degree, ever suspect him of writing it, and not for many years afterwards did he reveal the fact that he had written it.

He studied law with the ambition of becoming a profound jurist, and his knowledge of the higher principles of law was unusual. To what rank he might have in time attained had he

From about this time, also, John M. Lea began to meet and know personally almost every man in public life, not only in Tennessee, but in the country at large, and this knowledge continued for two-thirds of a century. He not only knew them in the sense of having met them, but enjoyed a close acquaintance with them, and for many years carried on an extensive correspondence with a large number of the leaders in politics. He thus gained also that wide knowledge of public events which characterized his after life, and by his personal efforts he frequently did much to mould public opinion. From the time he was fifteen years old he knew the judges, senators and representatives in Congress from practically the entire State. His father's position as Congressman and afterwards as Indian Agent, and his own connection with the office gave him many opportunities, and his natural inclination for their acquaintance made many more. And so, in after years, Presidents, Senators, Governors and men in every walk of life listened to him with the strong belief that he was a safe counsellor and a man whose opinion was entitled to consideration in any matter concerning which it was expressed. His father kept open house at Knoxville, and there he met many men then and afterwards famous in the annals of Tennessee and of the country. He was an intimate friend of Samuel Houston, and well acquainted with Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Hampton, the father of Wade Hampton, Haynie, Andrew Jackson and a host of others.

Judge Lea and John C. Gaut, who died several years before Judge Lea, read law together when young men, and those who remember Judge Gaut, will recall what a close student he was and what a retentive reader. One day he was sitting in the room reading Coke when Lea suggested that water was needed. Gaut said that he would get it, and carefully laid a slip of paper in the book, marking the exact place where he was when he had been interrupted. He took the bucket and went for the water. While he was gone Lea took out the slip and placed it in the book some twenty pages in front of the correct place. When

marked by the slip. After reading a few minutes he stopped, looked back at the preceding page, and then looked up and said: "John, I have read every word of this somewhere before."

After being admitted to the bar John M. Lea assisted his father for a time in the Land Office for East Tennessee. At one time his father had in his possession something over three hundred thousand dollars with which to settle the claims of the Indians, who were then about being removed to the Indian Territory. This large sum was kept locked up in a little iron safe at Athens, and was considered, and was, absolutely secure. Such were the morals of those times. After staying in the Land Office one year he gave up his position with the purpose of beginning the practice of his profession. Before he left home his father reminded him that he had a large family to care for, and that his means were moderate; he had sent him to school and educated him, and now all he could do was to give him fifty dollars and his blessing, with which he must make his own way in the world.

Leaving East Tennessee, he went first to Arkansas with a view of possibly locating in Little Rock to practice law. He was not pleased with the outlook, and was especially displeased with the climate, because he had contracted chills. He, therefore, returned to Nashville, having spent most of his money, and reached this city with fifteen dollars in his possession. He decided to locate here, and rented an office in a brick building on Cherry street near Cedar, just opposite where the Duncan now stands. He then went to the old Nashville Inn and engaged board, putting up his remaining fifteen dollars as part payment in advance. The old Nashville Inn was then a place of famous resort for prominent men of that day, and stood on the northeast corner of the Public Square and Market street.

Lea soon established a reputation for being a scholarly and successful lawyer, and acquired a good practice for a young man.

always spoke with special gratitude of having in those days so won the confidence of Doctor McNeill that in a short time after their acquaintance began he was made executor of Doctor McNeill's will by that gentleman. Doctor McNeill died soon after making the will, and the large estate was settled up by Lea in a manner most satisfactory to all concerned.

He was soon recognized as a leader among the younger men at the bar, and in 1842, when but twenty-three years old, he was appointed by President Tyler to be United States District Attorney, then the most responsible and important judicial position in the State, and he discharged the duties of the office with increasing credit to himself and with entire satisfaction to the government. He had entered upon the practice of his profession the same year that Andrew Jackson left the White House for the Hermitage, and the two were firm friends. In 1845 in the city of Memphis, John M. Lea married Miss Elizabeth Overton, the second daughter of Judge John Overton, famous in the early history of Tennessee; a man who was perhaps closer to General Jackson than any other—his life-long friend, associate and admirer, and his immediate successor on the bench—one of the patriarchs of Tennessee. Mrs. Lea was the sister of Colonel John Overton of our day, the generous and hospitable owner of Travelers' Rest, the historic country seat located a few miles south of Nashville. She was also the sister of the first Mrs. Robert Brinkley, of Memphis, Tenn. They are all dead now, and thus the second generation of that noted family have all passed away. But the memory of their many deeds of kindness and love will long remain. Three children were born of this marriage—Overton, Robert and Luke—only one of whom, Overton Lea, is living. Mrs. Lea was an invalid for the greater part of her life; she died September 13, 1890.

Shortly after his marriage, wearied by the exactions of official life and pressed for time to attend to his growing private practice and by his increasing personal interests, Mr. Lea resigned his office as District Attorney. His services had been so eminently satisfactory to his superiors in the Department of Justice, that he received from the Department when he resigned a letter expressing deep regret that he had given up the office.

His fine executive and administrative ability had been made known to the people of the city, and in September, 1849, Mr. Lea was elected Mayor by a practically unanimous vote. During his tenure of this office he was a factor in many matters affecting the future growth and welfare of the city. In this year of service he was, as ever, able, upright and efficient. It was in those twelve months that the contract was let for the building of the reservoir on Rolling Mill Hill, which held the city's reserve water supply until the present reservoir was constructed to take its place; it was Mayor Lea who signed the contract under which the Nashville Gas Light Company began operations, and by the terms of which contract, terms no doubt dictated by himself in large measure, or at least suggested by him, the city was the gainer when the fifty years life of the corporation had run its course; and it was he who signed the bonds issued by the city to aid in the construction of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad.

Throughout the summer of 1850 and within Mayor Lea's term of office, an epidemic of Asiatic cholera which had raged in Nashville during the preceding summer, again prevailed violently. Mayor Lea took an active part in aiding the sufferers. Often duty called him to the bedside of strangers who had been stricken with the fatal disease, but he always discharged that duty to the fullest degree. He sent his family to the country and remained alone in his city residence from the time the epidemic was declared until it was regarded as altogether safe for those who had left the city to return. He instituted and supervised sanitary measures devised to rid the city of the epidemic; he helped nurse those sick of the pestilence, and to bury those who had fallen victims to its malevolence. It was during this time that he first formed the acquaintance of Father Skatts, then stationed at St. Mary's Cathedral, and between the two, who were constantly thrown together in their work for the stricken, a strong attachment grew that was never weakened. The sorrows and troubles of those times of dread are still remembered by the oldest citizens of Nashville. One prominent lawyer vividly recalls a burning summer day in June, 1849, on which ex-President James K. Polk had died. As a barefooted boy, wearing a

large straw hat, he was standing on the corner of Cherry street and Union, then known as Union Alley, watching the seemingly endless procession of people passing southwardly on Cherry street, their families and household goods piled high in every conceivable form of vehicle or conveyance that was procurable or susceptible of construction. That is the one picture of that cholera period that stands out distinctly in his mind to-day, and the scenes were also characteristic of the summer of 1850.

When not absolutely busied with his office duties Mayor Lea spent all his time in counselling and encouraging the well, in visiting and cheering the sick, and in personally assisting in burying the dead. The duties of the Mayor were not then so manifold as now, and he was the choice of the whole city of less than ten thousand people, rather than of any party. The manner in which he discharged the duties of this office won the hearts and affections of all, and established his reputation as an official and as a friend to the distressed in time of need. He was ever thereafter held in the highest esteem and regard by the people, who would at any time have gladly bestowed upon him any position of honor or emolument in their power.

In those days the newspapers did not feel called upon to express themselves in a particularly complimentary manner at each recurring change in the office of mayor, declaring the retiring officer the best ever occupying the office, and when they did speak out they voiced the public sentiment concerning the official, waiving those times when the office was a political one. The office of Mayor was non-political. And when Mayor Lea retired from office of his own volition, both the Nashville papers examined in that regard, without qualification commended the work that Mayor Lea had done. His term expired October 1, 1850.

Said the *Daily Center-State American*, of October 2, 1850, in an editorial headed "Mayor Lea:" "It is not our purpose to attempt to enumerate his commendable economy, untiring exertion, etc., as his works, labors and improvements speak for themselves. But we feel bound to say we never have witnessed his equal as a public officer or private individual in administering to the wants of the afflicted, sick and dying during the prevalence of the cholera in our city. No one was more constantly on the

move than he, day or night, administering to their wants. None that we knew of came nearer filling the office of the 'Good Samaritan:' he tarried not for funds to be appropriated by our city fathers, but drew largely on his own private resources, thereby rendering timely aid to the needy, which succor was appreciated at the time by tears of gratitude, which was all they had to give, and which seemed entirely to repay him. Such facts coming under our own observation we feel constrained to give them publicity, as they deserve to be treasured up and remembered by all."

In its issue of October 5, 1850, the *Nashville Gazette* said in the course of an editorial on ex-Mayor Lea: "He has, during his services in office discharged the very arduous and responsible duties of his station with remarkable faithfulness and ability. He has retired with the commendation and good wishes of all classes, until his ability and zeal shall be demanded again for the public service."

It is worthy of mention here that the City Digest of 1850 was prepared by John M. Lea and by John Hugh Smith, his immediate successor in the office of Mayor.

At the end of his one year's service, Mayor Lea declined to again be voted for, and confined himself thereafter to his chosen profession, until the demands of an increasing private business compelled him to retire from active practice. He began in 1853 to improve his country place, where his family and he had been spending the summers, but still kept their residence in the city until 1863. Even to the time of his death he retained his town house, though his family had ceased to occupy it. At his country home he spent many years of life, alternating his private business duties with his voluntary labors in behalf of the various institutions with which he was connected officially and in which he felt an interest. There were many days of leisure, but they were never days of idleness. It was his pleasure still to keep up the habits of his early life and to acquire knowledge for the pleasure it gave. He studied the habits of all the domestic animals, as well as those of the wild beasts and of the birds that lived and sang in the forest about him. He knew them all, their names, their characteristics and their ways. He never felt the

need of other mental recreation and amusement while he was in the midst of his flowers and birds and trees and animals. He studied the geology of the State until he was fairly familiar with the formations of Tennessee and knew where to find the deposits of almost every mineral in the State.

But it was in botany that he most delighted. In the forty acres of lawn attached to his country home he planted every tree, with probably half a dozen exceptions, and those exceptions can all be pointed out now. He had a really magnificent arboretum there. It was one of his chief pleasures to have a tree planted by a friend who was visiting him, and to call that tree by the name of the friend who planted it. Most of his life-long friends have been so honored, and it was always his added pleasure to inform each one of those who had planted a tree how their namesake progressed. He took a special interest in the collection of Tennessee woods which Colonel J. B. Killebrew made for the Tennessee Centennial Exposition, and was of much assistance, giving information of one Tennessee tree of which few others had ever heard. This was the chittim wood, otherwise called yellow wood, a very ornamental tree and one of the prettiest in the forests of the State. He wrote a full description of the tree, its habits and the localities where it might be found, and furnished it to Colonel Killebrew, who secured some fine specimens for his collection. The tree is exceedingly rare and of very weak vitality, growing in the rich woods of the central basin and in eastern Kentucky. The delicate fragrance of its creamy white flowers makes the tree most noticeable in May and June. Rare as it was, Judge Lea knew of it, though there were few others who did.

There was little relating to Tennessee that he did not learn. Its productions were most familiar, its history an open book, its prominent families well known to him for generations. In this beautiful country home, when tired with outdoor pursuits he had his splendid library for his indoor amusement and recreation. There he added to the store of his knowledge even to the very time of his departure for Monteagle, from which he was never to return alive. Not only could he speak or write of any subject pertaining to Tennessee, but he was a man of the most varied

general accomplishments. Considering the wide range of his knowledge, his information was nothing less than wonderful, and was remarkably accurate. To the last he maintained his familiarity with the ancient classics, with the principles of law, with mathematics, particularly astronomy; his reading in English was very wide, and he was almost a critical philologist.

Judge Lea's carefulness in the use of language was illustrated in the last letter he ever wrote to his grandson, Overton Lea, Jr., who was then in Europe. In this he mildly took his grandson to task for having used a word in an inaccurate way in his previous letter. He gave a full explanation of the word used and showed its origin, meaning and exact significance.

This care was a characteristic of the man. When he was in doubt as to the exact meaning, or as to any point connected with a word, he would never rest until he had looked it up and satisfied himself fully. Mr. Norman Farrell was a frequent visitor to Judge Lea, being a very intimate friend of the family. On one occasion he and Mr. Farrell had had a difference of opinion about a word just as they were about to retire. After some little argument on the matter they separated, Judge Lea saying that he would look it up in the morning. The following morning Mr. Farrell was awakened by Judge Lea tapping on his door and calling to him. On his asking what was wanted the Judge replied: "Farrell, you were right about that word." He had gotten up before daylight, as was his habit, and had gone straight to his library to look up the word that had been under discussion. It was his habit to satisfy himself at once. When he would get to thinking about a quotation or any fact in bed where he could not recall it to his own satisfaction, he would frequently get up in the middle of the night, go and look it up and then return to his sleep. It was his invariable rule to verify his opinion when he was not absolutely certain about it.

In the prime of life Judge Lea had a role to perform that was most trying, and which few could have filled as he did—certainly no one else in Nashville—and he succeeded where others would have failed, because it was hardly a role in the ordinary sense; it was a tremendous duty that faced him and which he might easily have escaped without criticism. Yet he willingly and

cheerfully assumed it. He never believed in the right or the expediency of secession, and during the inception of the war, as well as throughout the existence of that great conflict, was known and regarded as a Union man; yet even in those days, when passion ran high, when families were hopelessly divided and friends of a lifetime fell asunder, there was no man who did not know his sincerity or who did not thoroughly respect him. When, early in the conflict, the city of Nashville was captured by the Union forces, his duty began, and he became the mediator between the vengeful and arrogant conqueror and those who, though conquered, were still unsubdued. Open conflict between the two forces thus opposed could have but one result, when one was weak and helpless and the other mighty. Judge Lea's neighbors came to him for aid, for intercession, because they had absolute confidence in him and knew his influence and weight with those in power; and that weight and influence were exercised whenever occasion demanded. The federal authorities also knew of his high character and that he was a man with no personal purpose to serve or private ends to gain, and they placed entire confidence in him. By this he was enabled to secure many indulgences and perform many acts of kindness for his less fortunate fellow citizens and their families. Instances of material aid and assistance rendered by him during that period are abundant. Day after day he bore the burdens of his neighbors to the seat of authority, and not in vain. Many are still living who profited by his intervention in those troublous times. Nor were these services performed alone for his friends and intimates. His was in every way a public service; his neighbors, his fellow townsmen and his fellow citizens throughout this commonwealth received benefit from his unselfish labors. His living in the community was a blessing to it, because those in authority respected his voice.

It had been because of Judge Lea's well known sentiments that he had represented the city at the formal surrender. The news of the fall of Fort Donelson had reached Nashville Sunday morning, February 16, 1862, and caused the utmost consternation. The Legislature speedily adjourned to Memphis with the money and archives of the State. General A. S. Johns-

ton's army began passing through the city on its way South, and the march continued day after day, even night after night, until the entire body had passed through, leaving General Floyd to cover the retreat. A genuine panic reigned. The two bridges across the Cumberland River were destroyed by the troops, against the protests of the citizens, and one week after the surrender of Fort Donelson the rear guard of the Confederate army marched out to the South, as General D. C. Buell came in on the other side and occupied East Nashville, then Edgefield, with the Federal troops.

Mayor Cheatham and a committee of citizens previously appointed by the City Council went out to meet the commanding general, make a formal surrender of the city to him, and negotiate for the best terms they could, in regard to the protection of the property and rights of the citizens. What transpired at this meeting with Generals Buell, Mitchell and Nelson, is a part of the war's unwritten history, but the course pursued by the army of occupation indicated that it was not devoid of result. Of all those participating in that conference on both sides, about fifteen in number, Judge Lea was the last survivor.

This was the first errand undertaken by Judge Lea for the amelioration of existing conditions, and was but the precursor of a long list of others. Judge Lea continuously used his influence, warm protest and personal solicitation to prevent harsh treatment of Southern people. He used this influence notably when Andrew Johnson became Military Governor of Tennessee. Before the war Lea had been a Whig and Andrew Johnson a Democrat, but on some points, particularly on the tariff and on the subject of banking, they had similar views and had come to know each other very well. This friendship was especially grateful to Mr. Johnson because of the fact that during his residence in Nashville as Governor from 1853 to 1857, he had been treated somewhat coldly by many of his own party associates.

barked upon a vigorous policy with the avowed purpose of crushing out all resistance and restoring Tennessee to the Union at the earliest possible time. This policy was very severe against all who sympathized with the Confederate cause. Public officers and persons suspected of such sympathy were forced to take a test oath, and citizens were heavily fined for being suspected of sympathizing with the Southern cause. Members of the City Council, teachers, ministers of the gospel and prominent citizens who would not take the test oath were banished or imprisoned on the charge of treason. To try public sentiment Governor Johnson ordered an election for Judge of the Criminal Court, and when Johnson's candidate was defeated the successful candidate was arrested and imprisoned.

Under conditions such as these the importance of a neighbor and friend like Judge Lea could hardly be over-estimated. When Johnson came to Nashville Lea called upon him and renewed the former acquaintance. He pointed out to Johnson the great opportunity that lay before him; that he was in a position where he should throw aside all feelings of bitterness and vindictiveness and mitigate as far as possible the acerbities of war. In doing this, Judge Lea insisted, Johnson would make easier the position of the State and that of the citizens after the end of the war, however it might terminate. Whatever influence this may or may not have had upon Johnson's general course of procedure, there is no question but, with all the harshness practiced, in particular instances, at the request of Judge Lea, he very often softened the conditions.

March 4, 1865, the day that Andrew Johnson was inaugurated as Vice President, of the United States, was also the day designated for the election of a Governor and General Assembly of Tennessee. At an election held two weeks prior thereto, on February 22, two amendments to the State Constitution were ratified, the one abolishing slavery and the other prohibiting the General Assembly from making laws recognizing the right of property in man. The amendments abolishing slavery had been submitted to the people by Governor Johnson at the original suggestion of Judge Lea, who hoped that the voluntary abolition of slavery by the State would bring about the easier rehabilitation

of Tennessee at the close of the war. Tennessee had been excepted from the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln through the direct influence of Judge Lea, who assured the President that if left to herself Tennessee would take this action. The result showed the good foundation for his belief. Tennessee was thus, through Judge Lea's influence, the only State in the South to free the slaves within its own borders.

At this election of March 4, 1865, William G. Brownlow was elected Governor, and Johnson, the former Governor, being then the Vice President, an interregnum existed in Tennessee until the 5th day of April of that year, when Governor Brownlow was inaugurated by the General Assembly, which met on that day. Then was Tennessee again under civil government.

After the death of President Lincoln in April, 1865, Andrew Johnson became President, and he so highly esteemed Judge Lea that he made a practical tender to him of a position in his cabinet—that of Attorney General of the United States. But this honor was declined.

Later in 1865, however, when the State Government had been reorganized, Governor Brownlow wished to appoint him Judge of the Circuit Court of Davidson County, and in response to urgent solicitations Judge Lea accepted the position. The appointment was asked by the bar of the county, and it was only from a strong sense of duty that it was accepted. There were indeed few in those days competent to hold the office who could take the oath required, and fewer still who for policy's sake could afford to accept it. A man who would discharge the duties faithfully and with satisfaction was required. Judge Lea's long rest from active practice, the new questions that had arisen requiring settlement, the strained relations existing between neighbors and between those who had been separated in opinion by the war, the smouldering passions of men at that time, made

accuracy of an experienced jurist. But he did show himself a jurist of the highest integrity, and won additional laurels.

It is a significant tribute to these few months of service on the bench that this short tenure of the office gained him the title of Judge, by which the people knew and have honored him, and by which he will ever be known and distinguished. No litigant ever complained that he had received from Judge Lea aught but the most even-handed justice. He was a conspicuous example of a rich man unspoiled by his riches. Never seeking office, yet he realized that the duty of the good citizen was sometimes to give service in an official capacity. Where he believed that he could fittingly render that service he never hesitated to assume official responsibilities, and when he believed that the services for which he had been needed had been performed he as unhesitatingly laid aside his official cares.

Judge Lea resigned the office of Circuit Court Judge in 1866, and the manner in which he had discharged his official duties had been such that Governor Brownlow shortly afterwards appointed him to a place on the Supreme Bench. Judge Lea carefully considered this appointment and came to the conclusion that his services were not then imperatively demanded by the public needs. Having also a predilection for private life, he declined the appointment.

Though never seeking and but once holding political office, Judge Lea always had decided views on all public questions, and ever exhibited the liveliest interest in the political welfare of his fellow citizens. He was an active spirit in the re-enfranchisement of the Confederate soldiers, it being really through his efforts that the Confederates of the State were again given the power to vote as early as they were. He was greatly exercised at the discontent consequent upon the disenfranchisement of all ex-Confederates after the war, and urged unceasingly upon the then State authorities their re-enfranchisement. Such was the success of his insistence that a special message from Governor Brownlow to the General Assembly in 1867 recommended their re-enfranchisement. And thus, it may be said, was taken the initial step in a policy which under the succeeding administration of

Governor Senter resulted in the removal in Tennessee of all political disabilities entailed by the war.

Nor was any of this done for effect, for the purpose of advancing himself in the estimation of others, or to make himself a prominent figure in affairs. Judge Lea was not only the typical Southern gentleman, hospitable and courteous, but he was in all things sincere. His politeness, cordiality and sympathy came from the heart. Familiar with books, he was also familiar with men and events. Broad-minded, cultured and acquainted with the widest range of literature, he was still interested intensely in the life which surrounded him, and was always buoyant and hopeful of the future. His was a most thoughtful and positive optimism. Busy as he always was with important affairs of his own, yet he devoted his time unsparingly to whatever work he could do for his friends or for the public at large.

It was in pursuance of this devotion to the public welfare that he exerted his influence with the powers at Washington in 1869, when a bill was pending in Congress to place Tennessee under the military government provided in the Reconstruction Act. Tennessee's statehood had been explicitly recognized in 1866, and bad as it was for the other States affected by the act, it would have been a great deal worse under all the circumstances for Tennessee. In accordance with the request of a public meeting held in Nashville, Judge Lea headed a delegation that went to Washington to oppose the passage of the measure, so far as Tennessee was concerned. This delegation did a most valuable work in dissuading the leaders at Washington from their course. Appearing before the committee to whom the bill had been referred, Judge Lea made a very strong and successful argument against it. He read a carefully prepared statement admitting the existence of political disorders and race troubles in the State, but at the same time showing that reconstruction would only make matters worse instead of mending them. The point was used with telling effect that there was in fact a fully organized State

the bill was not recommended for passage. The failure of the committee to report the bill favorably, according to statements of members of the committee, was largely owing to the effect produced by Judge Lea's statement and argument.

The only political office ever held by Judge Lea was that of member of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly in 1875. To this position Judge Lea and Judge E. H. East were elected in 1874, both being nominated without having been consulted, and Judge Lea being absent from the State at the time. As a matter of fact both were out of the city, and they were nominated by the political friends of Andrew Johnson, then a candidate for election to the United States Senate. Both were elected by overwhelming majorities, but Judge Lea did not construe his election under the circumstances as binding him to support Johnson throughout, and he did not do so.

It was during this session of the General Assembly that Judge Lea secured the passage of a general law for the organization of corporations, a law which has now been on the statute books for more than a quarter of a century, and which has every year gone on adding to the public benefits. This one act would have made his legislative career memorable, for it is a monument to his forethought, skill and industry, and has worked admirably in practice, resulting in the saving of much time and expense, both to the applicants for charters and to succeeding sessions of the General Assembly. He suggested to Judge East the desirability of some uniform and standard method of incorporation, and together they prepared the measure. Judge Lea introduced it and it soon passed. Before that time it had been necessary to go before the General Assembly for a charter of any kind, and not infrequently applicants for charters were there met by rival companies, each seeking more favors than the other obtained, and sometimes willing to pay for the privileges sought. One good feature of the present law is that it spares the legislator the temptation of demanding favors for his support of such a measure. This law not only saves the time and expense incident to waiting on a session of the General Assembly and avoids the delay, but reduces the chance of fatal errors to a minimum. It also makes unnecessary the flood of litigation formerly possible.

because a decision on any point in a litigated corporation case now construes the law finally for every other charter under the same law. While the need was evident and the remedy not hard to devise, yet it remained for a man who never sought public favor to propose the law. In no way was his intelligent, thoughtful, sincere and unselfish interest in the public welfare better shown than in this one conspicuous incident. To understand it one must take into account Judge Lea's high ideals of the duties of citizenship in a Democratic republic.

During the same session he also advocated the payment of interest upon the entire debt owed by the State of Tennessee, saying that the credit of the State would be improved by this course and that as a matter of right the interest should be paid whether the State were in a bad financial condition or not. He believed that the resources of the State, already great, would be increased by such fidelity to public obligations.

Withdrawing from public life at the end of this term in the General Assembly, Judge Lea yet continued to interest himself in legislative matters, and there has scarcely been a session of the General Assembly since his term of office during which he has not, by request and for the assistance of members and others, drawn up important measures that became the law.

Judge Lea had one of the finest libraries in the South, especially rich in Tennessee material, and his mind was a most fertile field of information about the history of the State. When Theodore Roosevelt was engaged in preparing his great work "The Winning of the West," he was greatly aided by Judge Lea in many ways. Much of the material for the parts of that work relating to this section was obtained from Judge Lea, who also gave helpful suggestions in its preparation. Judge Lea was recognized as an authority on many branches of knowledge, particularly on Tennessee history, and had written many articles on historical subjects. He was one of the best read and most

of a century; and added to these was a personal acquaintance and correspondence with almost every prominent American of that long period. It is interesting to know that he remembered back of the time when the railroads were built, and that the first time he went to New York he rode all the way on horseback. Nor did he forget the people he met later in life. As a matter of fact his memory of people was simply wonderful. After meeting a man he might not see him for a long time, for five or six years, but when he did meet him again he would call his name just as easily as he would had he been in the habit of seeing him and talking with him daily. His memory was unfailing to the last. It is usual with people of advanced age that they can remember things and people of the long ago better than those of a more recent date. Their memory of the later things becomes very indistinct, while all that happened in their younger days comes back with clearness and exactness. It was not so with Judge Lea. His memory of persons and things of recent date was clear to the last, and his mind perfectly poised even on the last day of his life.

Judge Lea always took an active interest in everything that concerned the cities of Nashville and Memphis, where he had large interests for himself and for his wife, as well as in everything that affected the good and growth of the State. Much of the legislation framed for Memphis and Nashville was framed or assisted by him. When the Memphis people were anxious to repudiate the great debt accumulated by the building of the rotten pavements for which such heavy damages were assessed against the city by the courts, Judge Lea, though an extensive property owner and a heavy tax payer, advocated paying the debt in full. He believed that this would have been best for the city, and that it would have called more attention to Memphis than any or all other things could, and that the attention drawn by the assumption of such a burden could have been only immensely beneficial in its results.

sewering, and this work was afterwards undertaken at an enormous cost. It was the rejuvenation and the redemption of Memphis.

Judge Lea was a liberal subscriber to charitable undertakings and projects. He was a philanthropist who not only did good work in fields which the State left to private enterprise to occupy and manage, but public institutions as well received the reward of his foresight, and the benevolent institutions of the State felt the effect of his philanthropy. No worthy cause, whether a refuge for the fallen, a home for aged and helpless women, a school for blind children, a struggling institution of learning, a destitute family, an unfortunate debtor, but received proofs of his sympathy. And yet he was not an indiscriminate giver, never hesitating to decline where his judgment did not approve. Giving liberally of his own means to charitable undertakings, he was also the faithful trustee of the benefactions of others.

Judge Lea and his wife made a donation of the site of the present Tennessee School for the Blind, and upon this site the State erected the present buildings. For the last thirty years of his life he was a member of the Board of Trust of that institution, in which he naturally felt the greatest possible interest. Afterwards, together with Samuel Watkins, Judge Lea gave the first site of the Home for Old Women.

Judge Lea purchased and donated to the County of Davidson the Nashville and Middle Franklin Turnpike, the first turnpike owned by the County.

Through the instrumentality of others, as through Samuel Watkins in the case of Watkins Institute, and through M. H. Howard in the case of Howard Library, he aided in conferring great benefits on the city. The manner in which these two donations first took shape is of interest, the first step being a refusal by Judge Lea to accept recognition from either of these gentle-

upon their bounty. Judge Lea himself never received a cent, either for the services referred to or for carrying out the testamentary benefactions. The suggestion he originally made for what he thought would be a small benefaction grew upon the recipients of the suggestion until they decided to make a very substantial gift, and they did so. Both these bequests were made on the condition that Judge Lea act as trustee, and he did so act to the time of his death. Thus was Watkins Institute created, useful to the city as a home for the Howard Library, as quarters for the Tennessee Historical Society; and above all as the home of the Night School, which, by subsequent benefactions has been enabled to do incalculable good work among those of the city's people who cannot attend school in the day time. By the gift of M. H. Howard a valuable fund was left to the Tennessee Historical Society, and the means also provided that made possible the founding of Howard Library, now the Carnegie Library.

Judge Lea's own benefactions were made from a fortune not too large to have been used by one man, and they were made with no desire to gain popular favor. They were made to the suffering and to those without political power. What he did for the institutions mentioned above, what he did for his alma mater, the University of Nashville, was known, but no one ever knew what he did for these institutions beyond the part he took in their management and supervision. Much of his work, especially in the case of the Tennessee School for the Blind, has had results reaching far beyond the borders of the State. He was public spirited in every true sense of the word, giving liberally of his means and of his time to the amelioration of society.

Descended from men prominent in the organization and subsequent history of the State, related by blood and marriage to others who had taken an active part in State and National affairs, Judge Lea enjoyed exceptional facilities for knowing men and events, and that knowledge was a source of pleasure all his life to himself and to his friends. To his predecessor as president of the Tennessee Historical Society, Doctor J. G. M. Ramsey, he was probably indebted for much of his interest in historic matters, an interest he cultivated long and never outlived. He knew the history of all public men, and knew the history and effects of every

public measure or policy that has arisen for the past seventy-five years. The death of all who had been his associates and contemporaries in early life did not abate his interest, nor did his advanced age dim the pleasure he felt in speaking of them. Never, perhaps, was Judge Lea more interesting and entertaining than at a meeting of the Historical Society, when some chance question or reference awakened his memory and started a chain of recollections. He was always purely informal and conversational in these reminiscences, and always delightful. No man ever had a richer fund of anecdote and reminiscence than he, and no one ever had the gift of narrating it more charmingly.

Judge Lea joined the Tennessee Historical Society in 1858, and became its vice president in 1878, acting as president until Doctor Ramsey died, in 1884. He was then elected president and has been re-elected to that office every year since that time, many times of late years over his own protest. In the society he has ever taken great interest, and he has frequently made valuable historical contributions to its archives. His interest in the history of his country and his State being great, it was his sincere desire that the store of historical knowledge should be increased through the agency of the Tennessee Historical Society. Putnam, Ramsey, Nelson and Lea did much for the society.

The Tennessee Historical Society wanted to make a creditable showing of its treasures at the Tennessee Centennial Exposition, but the treasury was empty; Judge Lea provided the fund that made it practicable. When it became necessary to make a catalogue of the books, papers, letters and manuscripts of the society, Judge Lea aided most liberally in paying for the work, and indeed made it possible. The spacious quarters in Watkins Institute occupied by the society so long without expense in great measure resulted from his foresight in enlisting the active interest of Mr. Watkins.

Judge Lea from his early youth cherished deep religious convictions and from the time of his marriage was a regular attendant of the First Presbyterian Church, Nashville, of which his wife was a devoted member. After his wife's death he was baptized and confirmed in the Episcopal Church. In his whole life he exemplified the Christian virtues. Among the most

prominent traits of his character were kindness of feeling towards all and unfaltering loyalty to his friends. He considered the descendants to the very latest generation of those who befriended him when he was a struggling young lawyer the objects of his special interest.

The bare recital of the positions which Judge Lea held, and even the story of the deeds he has left to his credit, give no definite conception of his character, or of his ability. Many men have held more numerous public positions and more exalted places, and many have made larger gifts—and yet there was more in his life which might be taken as a model than can be found in the lives of a dozen men more prominent. He was the soul of Southern culture, chivalry and gentleness. His name was never spoken save with respect, both for the man and for his ability. His word was a bond. He lived above pettiness, and his years of quiet rest were beautiful. Calm by nature, reposeful and purposeful in all his actions, he took part in none of the bitter political controversies of his day; he cherished no personal animosities and stood ready to forgive almost any injury. Even and philosophic in temperament, he had a simple, modest way and a kindly feeling for everyone. After deliberation, he took one side or the other of all debated questions, and after espousing a cause he held to it with firmness; yet had he no feeling of unfriendliness for those who did not think as he thought. He favored or opposed a cause as he deemed best, and allowed to others the same privilege. His name was the synonym of honor and duty, of unfailing courtesy. His charming personality, his sympathetic and friendly manner, his love of justice, his high ideals of the duties of a citizen—ideals to which he so thoroughly attained—marked him as a man who belonged to the head of Nashville's eminent and useful citizenship. He was a Christian gentleman of the highest type, a living testimonial to the fact that the highest reputation and honor may come to the private citizen as fully as to the most exalted official. He would have won honor and reputation and the love of men in any sphere of life.

Safe and conservative as he was in counsel, wise in the administration of public and private affairs, quick and discerning in intellect, pure in morals and temperate in everything, had not his

unselfishness and devotion to duty far exceeded his ambition and his desire for self-aggrandizement, he could easily have filled more conspicuous, though hardly more useful positions. Many have wondered why he did not enter politics, where the richest rewards undoubtedly awaited him, and why he scrupulously almost entirely avoided any part whatever in public affairs. The reason is one which adds to his glory as a citizen. Shortly after the birth of her third and youngest child, Mrs. Lea became an invalid, and Judge Lea would assume no responsibility that would take him much from her side. But for that it is hardly to be doubted that he could and would have become a prominent figure in the political world. Through nearly half a century he devoted himself to caring for his wife with affectionate solicitude, planning the education of his children and with pride watching their growth in stature and intelligence. He outlived all those sons save one, in the bosom of whose family he passed the last years of his life.

John M. Lea belonged by birth to East Tennessee, and was the contemporary of a distinguished coterie of Nashville gentlemen who came from East Tennessee in the early part of the nineteenth century and attained prominence in their respective walks of life. Only a few years ago the late Doctor R. A. Young, of Nashville, entertained at his home a dozen or fifteen resident members of East Tennessee circle, limiting the attendance to those who were born in East Tennessee, and had reached or passed seventy years of age. Every one present had won prominence in his adopted home. Of this circle, which included lawyers, doctors, merchants and men in other callings, Judge Lea was the oldest one present. Of all who met at that dinner perhaps the only survivor to-day is Colonel A. S. Colyar, between whom and Judge Lea there was but a little difference in age.

Judge Lea's last days were particularly happy ones. He had

the varied relations of life. An example of this is found in the circumstances under which the son, Overton Lea, and members of his family left home for Europe in the summer and were across the ocean when Judge Lea died. Mr. Lea did not want to leave his father, realizing that at his advanced age a very little thing, a seemingly slight attack, might be the precursor of the end. But after Judge Lea was taken to Monteagle his health showed such improvement, and he became apparently so much stronger that he insisted on them going. He was especially solicitous because of the unsatisfactory state of health of his grandson, Overton Lea, Jr., on whose account largely the trip had been suggested.* It was at Lucerne that the news of Judge Lea's death was received. Several letters there awaited the travelers, one from Judge Lea himself, and others telling of his sickness and death.

By his friends in Nashville the announcement that Judge Lea was very sick was received with a foreboding that he would not recover. The fact that he had so materially improved while spending the summer at the Monteagle home did not offset the knowledge that his health was not strong for some time before he left Nashville, and that he was advanced in age. A severe cold contracted Friday, the day preceding his death, superinduced ~~træmic~~ poisoning, which prostrated him. His physician, Doctor W. C. Dake, was summoned by telegraph and responded promptly, but all the care and attention possible could not stay the rapidly approaching end. Judge Lea died late Saturday night, attended by those of his grandchildren who were in America and by Doctor Dake.

The body was brought to Nashville and taken to his town house, 306 North Vine street, where the funeral services were held on the following Tuesday. The burial was at Mount Olivet. These services were attended by a large number of friends, including the Tennessee Historical Society in a body.

On the night of the 10th of November, 1903, a full meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society was held which was in the

* Overton Lea, Jr., died in Nashville of pneumonia December 29, 1903, in his twenty-sixth year.

nature of a memorial meeting to honor the deceased president. The attendance, both in number and personnel, typified the esteem in which Judge Lea was held. Ex-Governor James D. Porter presided over the meeting.

A committee which had been previously appointed presented their report, which embraced a memorial and accompanying resolutions. A paper on Judge Lea's life and character was read by Professor Frederick W. Moore, and remarks of a pertinent and interesting character were made by Colonel George C. Porter, General G. P. Thruston, Colonel J. B. Killebrew, and Doctor R. R. Freeman, all of whom referred to the good deeds and the useful life of the departed member and friend.

The memorial and resolutions were then unanimously adopted by a rising vote and a copy was directed to be furnished to the family of the deceased. The memorial and resolutions were as follows:

John McCormick Lea was born December 25, 1818, at Knoxville, Tenn., and died at Monteagle, Tenn., September 19, 1903. He became in early life a pupil of Rev. Stephen Foster and Rev. Doctor Coffin, well known educators of East Tennessee, and later entered the University of Nashville, where he was graduated in 1837. He studied the law. In 1840 he was licensed to practice, and selected Nashville as his residence. In 1842, when twenty-three years of age, he was appointed United States Attorney for the district of Middle Tennessee, and discharged the duties of this office until his resignation in 1845. In 1850 he was elected Mayor of Nashville; declined re-election at the expiration of his term and resumed the practice of his profession.

When Andrew Johnson, in 1865, became, by the death of Mr. Lincoln, President of the United States, Judge Lea declined the position of Attorney General of the National Government, which was practically tendered him. Later in 1865, he became, by appointment from Governor Brownlow, Judge of the Circuit Court of Davidson County, and in 1868 declined an appointment as

This bare recital of the official stations to which Judge Lea has been called, conveys no definite conception of his character, or of his ability. Many men have held a greater number of public positions and more exalted ones. But, although many of these events in his life antedated our acquaintance with him, we know that while he discharged the duties of the office of District Attorney satisfactorily and creditably, no man was prosecuted for the sake of a lawyer's victory, or for the paltry official fee which depended upon conviction; that when he was Mayor there was no municipal mal-administration or dishonesty of which he was aware, or which he could prevent; that when he sat a Judge, there was no litigant but what received the most even-handed justice, and, that when engaged in the practice of his profession, no client could purchase his aid in perpetration of fraud: for such was the integrity of the man. And we know there was no worthy cause, whether a place of refuge for the fallen, a home for poor and aged women, a school for blind children, a struggling institution of learning, a destitute family, an unfortunate debtor, but received practical proofs of his sympathy: for such was the benevolence of the man.

And we know that he participated in none of the bitter political controversies of his day; that he cherished no personal animosities, but stood ready to forgive almost any injury; and that he spoke ill of no man: for such was the charity of the man.

And we know that he discharged his full duty when it called him during the epidemic of 1851 to the bedsides of persons, even strangers, who were stricken with fatal and contagious disease; and again from 1862 till 1866, when the continuously used warm protest, personal solicitation and all of his influence to prevent harsh treatment of Southern people: for such was the kindness of the man.

Those of us who knew his domestic life, knew with what affectionate solicitude he cared for his wife; with what forethought he planned the education of his children, and with what pride he watched their development and growth toward intelligence: for such was the humanity of the man.

Descended from ancestors prominent in the organization of the State and its previous and subsequent history; related by blood and connected by marriage to others who had taken active part in the administration of both State and National affairs, he enjoyed exceptional opportunities to obtain that knowledge of public men and public measures which all his life was a source of pleasure to him and to his friends.

He was probably indebted to his early preceptor, some of whose manuscripts are in the archives of this society, for his interest

in historical subjects; an interest which he cultivated so long and so assiduously that there has hardly been a public man in the State with whose career he was not familiar and not a public measure or policy of which he did not know the history and the effects. It was, therefore, to be expected that, beyond the profound regret which pervaded the entire city when the death of Judge Lea was announced, the members of this society should feel a deeper sense of grief in the loss of its honored and beloved president. For forty-five years he had been active in its affairs as member, and for nearly twenty years its head, its adviser and in times of pecuniary trouble, its supporter. His interests in its objects were not abated by his advanced age, or by the death of nearly all those contemporaries who had been associated with him in its commendable work. This society has sustained an almost irreparable loss, and by the death of Judge Lea, who during a residence of sixty-three years in this community proved himself a useful citizen, a faithful officer, a pure patriot, a stainless gentleman. The whole community has lost an example worthy of its emulation and its remembrance; therefore, it is

Resolved, That this society place on its minutes this evidence of its appreciation of the services and the character of John M. Lea; and that the society extend to his surviving family the assurance of its deepest sympathy in their great affliction.

G. P. THRUSTON,
JNO. M. BASS,
ROBERT T. QUARLES,
JOS. S. CARELS,
FREDERICK W. MOORE,
Committee.

JUDGE JOHN McCORMICK LEA—AN EULOGY.

[Delivered before the Tennessee Historical Society, Tuesday evening, November 10, 1903, by Frederick W. Moore, Ph.D., Professor of History and Economics in Vanderbilt University.]

Judge Lea was a noble man. Does it not stir high and patriotic impulses within us to hear and know of his life and work? As one member of this Society I beg leave publicly to thank the Committee on Resolutions for the discriminating sketch of his career which it has prepared, and to second the resolution that it be adopted and spread on the minutes as the sense of this Society regarding its late honored president.

Judge Lea did good in the public service and he averted ill. His neighbors, his fellow townsmen, his fellow citizens throughout this Commonwealth have received the benefits of his unselfish services. Governors and generals and imperious senators have at his appearance stayed the hand that was raised to strike in unwisdom and prejudice. Our laws and our public institutions contain concrete examples of his public spirited wisdom and foresight. Our benevolent institutions breathe out the spirit of his gentle philanthropy.

This whole community is better because John McCormick Lea lived his life in it. It can ill spare him; the world would be better if there were more in it like him. There would be more love and less hate; more helpfulness and less selfishness; more kindness and less cruelty; more confidence in our fellow men and less of the spirit of jealousy, envy, and suspicion; more equity and less justice, justice which is impartial because it is blind, and merciless because it is unsympathetic.

But I wonder sometimes how many men like Judge Lea the world really wants and how well it would appreciate them if it had them. To judge by actions it would count them an expensive luxury. They would be in the way of business and progress. It would really be thought to entail very considerable

sacrifice to have them about. There might be more ease and contentment; but there would be less wealth and less ambition. There would be less of that pernicious spirit of covetousness and avarice which seeks to obtain even at the expense of others, and there would be more leisure and taste to enjoy what was possessed, but the spirit of competition would not be so keen and the aggregate of trade and manufactures would not mount up to quite so many millions. We should have to sacrifice some of that rivalry in trade and craft and profession which drives us on and on, ever faster, with a speed that accelerates like the speed of a falling body; and are we willing to do it? Men rush ruthlessly on, sometimes to their own destruction, but always leaving a pathway unsightly with the wreckage of those whom they have borne down, some of whom they have unscrupulously crushed and used to help them on in their own mad courses. How we pay honors to the genius and ambition of a Vanderbilt, a Gould and a Morgan as master organizers; or the ability of Bell and Edison to invent and exploit their inventions; or the business acumen of a Carnegie and a Rockefeller, though some of them have accumulated more in a lifetime than they can either use or give away without public harm. Though at times they have despoiled the man of small capital and have given the laborer only that share of the product which in his weakness he could exact, how, over against this, we magnify the fact that millions upon millions of capital have been put to productive uses and thousands upon thousands have been provided with remunerative employment as the result of their industrial activities. They have developed our systems of transportation and increased our facilities of communication and promoted our industries enormously. They and others with them and like them, on smaller scale, have opened to us the vast agricultural and mineral resources of our country and directed the genius and skill of our artisans into productive

have lost their balance going down hill. And if some economic disaster should overtake us or some natural calamity overwhelm us the catastrophe would be proportionately great. After the panic of 1893 Nashville lost 16,000 of its population in a year. In 1888 New York City was visited by a winter storm of wind and snow, extreme cold and ice. For four days it was cut off from the mainland, and for four days thousands of its vast population stared wild-eyed into the very face of hunger. We are business mad and notwithstanding the risks we run the giants of finance and industry are the men whom we follow after and honor. And as in business so also in statecraft: there is a Caesar and a Frederick and a Napoleon for every Alfred; a Bismarck and a Metternich for every Gladstone; Websters and Blaines, consumed by their own ambitions, in great numbers. But rarely a Washington, serving only when called to serve and then unreservedly offering life and talents in his country's cause, unselfishly, faithfully, efficiently, patriotically.

Judge Lea was not one of the madly rushing throng. He stood to one side in peace and repose, quite apart from the tumult. But in time of trouble, when catastrophe had fallen, when things were all in wreck and there was suffering to be alleviated or worse things still to be warded off, then he took hold and did a man's part out of the love he bore his fellow men. Rare indeed are such men as he.

Judge Lea was a gentleman. So are we all, to be sure, and it is not presumption on our part to call ourselves gentlemen in the usual honorable sense of the word. But when applied to Judge Lea, the word takes on a fullness of meaning, far, far greater than it ever bears in common usage. He was not simply a typical southern gentleman, courteous and hospitable; nor merely a gentleman of the "old school," polished and urbane. He was this and something more. Polite, cordial, thoughtful for others, cultured, his politeness was not superficial, his cordiality was not patronizing; his sympathy was thoroughly sincere; his culture became him like a well-fitting

future, these were his characteristics. Nor was his gentlemanliness a parlor accomplishment. He took time to be gentlemanly everywhere. His gentlemanliness dominated his business habits even. Men in high and responsible public position owe their time and strength to the great duties with which they are commissioned and they must not waste them on either little men or little things. The pursuit of personal ambitions, the demands of private business absorb most men so completely that with respect to other men and things they are literally absent-minded. Little thought or consideration for them that is not directly or indirectly selfish ever gets lodgment in their minds. Judge Lea was not so. Yet he was a busy man. Of public affairs he was always an interested and attentive observer; and he had a large private estate in the management of which he exercised great care. Most men would have taken such a trust for their five talents and with it would have felt commissioned to go and make yet other five. They would have bought and sold, bargained and traded, planned and schemed, taking every legitimate advantage of the market, even manipulating it to their own ends, and we would have praised their business acumen and done honor to their successes. But the opportunity did not tempt Judge Lea to pursue such a business life. That is one of the conspicuous differences between him and other men. Because of this trait men never saw him struggling in the undignified melee of business rivalry. They never saw him dallying with the meretricious temptations that present themselves there; they never saw him grasping and sordid and selfish. Men were conscious that upon his gentlemanliness no discount or deduction was to be made; there was no shadow of stain upon it. They did not look askance, or with surprise, at his acts of philanthropy. They did not sneer or shrug the shoulder when people called him good. They believed in him unreservedly and looked upon his goodness as unadulterated and without flaw. He was a gentleman unexcelled and unequalled, a gentleman without a peer.

I have heard it said that Judge Lea was too rich to make a good lawyer, but I hold that his greatness was nobler even than any greatness achievable at the bar. It is said that professional

success in the law requires hard work and drudgery and unremitting application such as a man in affluent circumstances will not undergo. But I never heard it said, and I know it is not true, that Judge Lea ever set an example of idleness before the generation of younger men who grew up about him. He was not harnessed to the treadmill of necessity, nor was he driven by the lash of inordinate ambition. Is it well for the world when men are the victims of either such misfortunes or such follies? Judge Lea took time to cultivate those refinements of gentlemanly character which few have either the desire or the ability to cultivate. Wealth does tempt some men to idleness and selfish indulgence. Honor to the rich man who is industrious and public-spirited in spite of his riches. Honor, double honor, to the rich man who not only uses his time well, but uses it in the pursuit of those rare accomplishments which, since they cannot coexist with the spirit of rivalry and ambition and greed of gain, are so rarely acquired by men.

Suppose Judge Lea had been a poor man, suppose necessity had forced him to drudgery until the nobler part of his aesthetic nature had been all but starved out, what a misfortune it would have been for him and how much "sweetness and light" would have been lost to the world. Suppose that with the success which industry and perseverance brought, there had come ambition, ambition for those things lying right at hand, professional advancement and political preferment. I doubt not that Judge Lea would still have been a man of uprightness and integrity, faithful to every trust, public or private, which was put in his keeping. He would have lived a life full of usefulness and he would have died full of honor. But circumstances gave him an opportunity of another kind, and he made use of it as few men are capable of making use of such an opportunity. To me, and I hope to others, it is a great inspiration, a genuine source of hope and courage. It gives me faith in the ultimate virtues of mankind to see a man living the exalted life which he lived, above the smoke and dust and din of battle, exemplifying such rare degrees of virtue as he exemplified.

Judge Lea was not only a gentleman in an unusually high sense of that word, he was also an ideal citizen of a democratic

republic. He did not seek office, he even shunned office-holding, but he did not evade the duties of citizenship. At the very sunset of life, with failing sight and trembling hand, writing to a member of this Society, he said: "It pains me that I can no longer be of service to my country." There is a difference between office-seeking, there is even a vital distinction between office-holding and duty-doing in matters political; and Judge Lea exemplified it to a high degree. Society needs no organization to constrain men to dress respectably and to practice good manners in public and private. Some organization is necessary to promote the ends of religion, charity, and social improvement; but even here, in many well-defined classes of cases, the compulsion and restraint of law is unnecessary and impolitic. The voluntary organization of intelligent citizens for public service in these fields is sufficient and preferable. There is, however, a large and increasing group of functions, too numerous and too familiar to need recital, the performance of which is necessary to the public welfare, but the certain and orderly performance of which can be assured only by governmental organs endowed with authority and power. Thus government exists as a necessary and important agency for promoting public welfare. But government is not an end in itself nor is public office a proper sphere for the exercise of merely personal ambitions. Every citizen of a democracy ought so to conceive it. The duty of the officers deputed to run the affairs of government is simply and solely and seriously to attend to public duties. To be sure, it is not dishonorable to seek office or public employment; it is not dishonorable to expect deserved promotion and emolument; it is a modest and honorable ambition to look for life-long tenure of certain classes of offices in the civil service. But when political parties organize to perpetuate themselves in office, when office is sought to be used for the satisfaction of personal ambition and as a stepping-stone to higher honors and greater emoluments, and when the office-seeker, as is so often the case,

when it should be primary; the incumbent becomes selfish when he should be public-spirited. We all realize how far short of the ideal the actual conditions are. However, it is not my purpose here and now to preach reform, though there is crying need of a genuine revival of public spirit among public officeholders. Let us admit that ideal conditions are beyond our immediate attainment. Let us recognize that we get along tolerably well under conditions that fall considerably short of perfection; let us recognize it and be thankful that not every shortcoming in our political system is fatal. But let us beware of the weakness from which all governments suffer and the danger to which notably all democracies are exposed when selfish demagogues prostitute public office for private gain. The regard which citizens pay to public affairs averages low. But Judge Lea was one among a thousand in the degree of approximation to the ideal which he attained. Surely, observing such men as he, we may reflect that the ideal of citizenship in a democracy is not superhuman; we may take courage and put faith in the perfectibility of man.

In 1842, while still in his twenty-fourth year, Mr. Lea was appointed United States attorney for the Middle District of Tennessee. He was reckoned a Whig, not a party worker who owed his vote to the party; but a party voter because he approved of the principles for which it stood. The Whigs were at that time in the majority in the State and his friends had sufficient influence with President Tyler, not yet soured by political disappointment, to secure his nomination. He performed the duties of the office thoroughly and conscientiously until 1845, when he resigned. In 1849, while barely thirty, he was Mayor of Nashville. This office was not then what it is now, when the city has millions of dollars invested in streets, sewers, water and light service, and public schools and all the costly and extensive apparatus and organization for carrying on the manifold and growing functions of municipal government in a city of almost 100,000 people. Then Nashville contained only one-tenth of that number. Still, it was a thriving town, which increased in population from 7,000 in 1840 to 10,000 in 1850; and it had municipal needs of no little moment. In those days

the office of mayor was not considered political, as it is now. The tax-paying citizens then exercised a more exclusive influence upon municipal affairs and the property-holders of the city, it seems, thought the young man not unworthy to be charged with the safeguarding of their property and the promotion of those public interests which plainly must lie as a burden to be borne out of their private incomes.

In the promotion of the young Lea to both of these positions there is, so far as I can determine, a very happy instance of a practice not uncommon with the people of many communities, viz., the practice of putting their rising young men early into public office to test them, as it were, to give them a chance to win their spurs if the talent is in them. Both opportunities were well used. Indeed, the year of Mr. Lea's mayoralty witnessed an epidemic of cholera in Nashville; and in that time of panic and undeniable danger with firm courage and tender sympathy he devoted himself to the needs of a stricken people. How many men there were who could have done as well but who have remained unknown because untested, I do not pretend to say. Not often are we subjected to the supreme test. But did you ever reflect how many men have passed with success and honor through life because by happy accident they were not tested beyond the little which they were able to withstand; and what sad havoc of character and reputation and happiness is caused by the fact that upon many trials have fallen which crushed them? All honor to those who, having met the extreme test, stand approved.

But the most exacting test which Judge Lea stood in the public service came to him between 1860 and 1870, while he was in the very prime and vigor of life—barely past forty years of age when the Civil War broke out, barely past fifty when the period of sorest trial for the people of Tennessee came to an end. You

invited the popular participation in governmental affairs normal in democratic republics only to repudiate it, set it aside, and wantonly and vindictively to affront it when it manifested its wishes contrary to the ideas of the men in power, men some of whom—such is the rarity of great talents and sound discretion—were peculiarly unsuited to discharge the responsible and delicate positions which they held. In those times there were few men who were not partial and prejudiced because clearly committed to the one side or the other. Most of those who posed as impartial were so because they were too weak in character and too insignificant in influence to count either way. How fortunate that a man so capable as Judge Lea and so influential in the community could pass through that period of passion, being in it but not of it. It was due to his temperament and to his character that he could do so. What a tribute to the rarity and uniqueness of the man; not another his equal in this respect in the community, scarcely in the State, few in the whole South.

He was a Unionist and well known as such. In some northern community he might have been a sound and helpful public counsellor, in office or out, when passion ran high, when military defeats caused panic, when counsels of moderation in victory were sorely needed. But the early capture of Nashville by the Federal Army gave him another role to perform. He was mediator between conqueror and conquered. The conqueror was vindictive; the conquered was unsubdued in spirit, proud of his principles and untractable. Friction and trouble arose which could end only one way, for the one party was strong and the other disarmed. Judge Lea's neighbors and fellow citizens came to him in their straits for counsel and to implore his intercession in their behalf. The Federal authorities recognized that they could place implicit confidence in his judgment and recommendations. They knew that he was not a man with ulterior ends to serve or private advantage to be sought. Day by day he went to the seat of civil and military authority bearing the burdens of many people, and not in vain.

from which he derived the title by which the public knows him and will distinguish him so long as the annals of Tennessee shall be known and read. The bar of the city had asked for his appointment. Few who in character, intellect and training were capable of holding the office could have taken the oath required ; and these declined for policy's sake to accept it. How distasteful and laborious the task to which Judge Lea was thus called may well be imagined. From long neglect of active practice he was unfamiliar with the law. The duties of the office, burdensome at best, would be doubly so to him. Moreover the long period during which the courts had been closed had caused the accumulation of much litigation ; and the strained and disturbed condition of society caused much more and involved new principles and raised strange and difficult questions to be settled without the guidance of precedent. Above all men's passions were smouldering and it needed only the slight breath of distrust to fan them into flame. Under these critical circumstances, and only under these, Judge Lea took office and held it a few months until conditions were so much improved that the office could be entrusted to other hands. Then he resigned. This was not egotism, it was greatness.

Lawyers still at bar have told me how Judge Lea would come to them for assistance and suggestion in cases on which they were not engaged as counsel. They have told me how he would decide cases on which they were engaged—not always with the accuracy of an experienced and learned jurist. But nobody doubted the rectitude of his mind nor impugned the honesty of his motives. Everybody accepted in good faith the decision when and because it was made by Judge Lea. In fact, it was then and it always is more important that litigation should be concluded by the decision of an authority which is respected than that it should be decided with the refinement of justice. True, the decision cannot be far and often wrong without undermining the respect for the court ; but exact justice rendered by a judge whose integrity is doubted and whose partiality is more

Time fails to speak in detail of the many public services and private acts of kindness performed by Judge Lea during this period. No more than a bare reference can be made to his influence at Washington where he appeared with other citizens of the State to ward off an impending blow in 1869. Those were times when, though the war was over, the ship of state was tossed on stormy seas and when the constitution strained and creaked in rib and keel as though it would be wrenched asunder. Questionable as it was in point of constitutional law and as a matter of policy for Congress ever to have put any of the States under the military government provided in the Reconstruction Acts, it would have been infinitely worse from both points of view to reduce the State of Tennessee, whose rights of equal statehood had been explicitly recognized in 1866. It was fortunate for the nation as well as for the State that men of wisdom and moderation and judgment, citizens of the State and others, among whom Judge Lea is by common consent accorded high standing, could successfully dissuade the leaders at Washington from persisting in their vindictive course.

In 1874 Judge Lea and Judge East were elected to represent Davidson County in the Lower House of the State Legislature. The nomination was made without consultation with either of them—indeed, when both were temporarily out of the city. It was made in a convention controlled by the political friends of Andrew Johnson, who was a candidate for election to the United States Senate. Because of the movement which they represented, which influenced some, and because of the character of the men, which influenced many others, both were elected. Yet Judge Lea did not construe the circumstances of his nomination as a binding obligation to support Mr. Johnson, as his wavering vote showed. But statesmanship is a far higher calling than politics; and it is as the author of the general corporation law, which has now been on our statute books more than a quarter of a century and which each year has gone on and will

stone in one end of the sack to balance the meal in the other, divided the meal and relieved his beast of the unnecessary burden of the stone. Compare the good roads, straight and level, paved and kept in good repair, with the old roads with which we have so long put up patiently. They involve no principle and no material which has not been familiar for generations. They require more capital outlay, but at a better rate of interest than government bonds bear. To be sure, we have horses and steam power enough to carry half loads of stone and to drag heavy loads over the hills instead of around them till doomsday if need were. But it is unnecessary and no one would hesitate to call it idiotic if we were not all more or less guilty of some analogous practice. These are two homely and familiar illustrations of a well-known class of improvements which are notable because such great and almost universal advantage has come from a simple little device that it seems almost anyone should have thought of. But, such is the force of inertia, men have gone on bearing their little burdens year in and year out, failing to comprehend the advantage that lay easily at hand. How many are now lying right at hand, and no one has the initiative to devise and execute the change. Judge Lea suggested the desirability of a uniform and standard method of incorporation to Judge East and together they prepared it. Judge Lea introduced it and it was soon passed. It occupies many pages in the statute book. It provides a standard form of charter for the incorporation of every variety of enterprise, public and private, industrial and eleemosynary, which could be anticipated. It saves the incorporators the delay and expense and risk incidental to procuring a charter by special act of legislature. It frees the legislature from the necessity of consuming the time needed to care for the public business in attending to matters of private interest. It prevents the rivalry, often the illegitimate and pernicious rivalry, of companies, each seeking by hook and by crook to get more favors from the legislature than a competitor obtained; and it spares the legislator the temptation to accept or to demand favors in consideration of his influence. It further benefits the incorporators in that the chance of fatal error in the form and substance of the charter is reduced to a minimum and

in that one litigated case construes the law finally for every other charter under the law. Its benefits are inestimable because they are preventive. We can only faintly comprehend how great they are when we enumerate the number of persons and variety of enterprises and millions of capital which it so beneficently safeguards.

The need was a perfectly patent one; the device was simple to conceive and not difficult for a lawyer to execute. Yet with all the men earnestly and diligently seeking to win public recognition by public service, it remained for a man who never sought office at the hands of the people and held the office of representative in the legislature but once, to prove his knowledge of public needs and show his intelligent, thoughtful, sincere and unselfish interest in public welfare and to distinguish for all time his brief period of legislative service by getting this law upon the statute book. It was not by accident that it happened so. No explanation will account for it that does not take account of Judge Lea's high ideals of the duties of citizenship in a democratic republic. Let this one conspicuous instance stand in place of not a few that could be enumerated did time permit. If, yielding to his modest disinclination for public office and his love for the quiet of private life, he withdrew from the halls of legislation after one short term and left his place vacant for others to fill who were only too ambitious to be in the public service, let them, not him, answer if they have failed after due opportunity to do some such service for the State as we might have expected from him had he consented to serve longer.

Not only did Judge Lea exhibit unusually honorable marks of broad statesmanship; he was also a philanthropist, doing social service in those fields and through those channels which the State has left to private enterprise to occupy and manage. Other philanthropists sought his advice in choosing the manner and form of their benefactions. He was a faithful trustee of the benefactions of others; and in certain directions he gave liberally of his own abundant means to charity. His connection with the University of Nashville (his *alma mater*), with Watkins Institute and Howard Library, with the Old Woman's Home,

the Blind School and other like institutions is well known and need not be repeated here. These beneficiary gifts and services were not made out of a fortune too large to be used by one man; nor were they made to win notoriety, nor even to buy indulgence with the public for a life notorious for its selfishness. They were made to relieve suffering and do good. Well have they served their simple and noble end. They have awakened joy and gratitude in many a sad and lonely heart. Unprotected old age has been robbed of the sting of poverty and friendlessness; and though there are eyes from which physical defects, like clouds, must ever shut out the rays of the sun's light, the cloud of ignorance has been dispelled from the minds of the blind children of Tennessee through his beneficence and the rays of knowledge and art, science, literature and music, have been made to shine in and gladden aching hearts and give joy to dark lives. Indeed, the Blind School, for which he did so much, has not been a blessing to the State of Tennessee alone. Through its methods and through the men and women it has trained its influence has gone out to the ends of the earth, wherever there is a civilization in which philanthropy is a watchword. Perhaps others might have done, and, now that he has gone, others must attempt to continue to do, what he did; but who can do it so sweetly and lovingly as he? He not only benefited others, but glorified his own gentle character in so doing.

De mortuis nil nisi bonum, it is often said. But in the present case it is inapt. There is nothing else to say. Few men have ever lived in whom the carping critics and the slanderers have found so little to feed their disgusting appetites. I have not heard them utter a word, and if I had I should not have listened. It is not by dwelling on other people's faults, but by imitating their virtues that we may hope to benefit. Indeed, Judge Lea was too good to be belittled. The physicists have a law to the effect that a body once set in motion tends to move in the given direction indefinitely with the initial speed. We know that no body has ever been made to move indefinitely, or even in a straight line for any great distance, on account of the resistance of the atmosphere and the force of gravity. But, accepting the law as stated, we are able to compute the amount

of energy necessary to give to a body in order that it may so overcome the forces retarding its progress as to reach a given point. How much innate goodness, how much freedom from the temptations that ordinarily beset men, and how much of the fundamental principles of our Christian civilization did it take to project one man through eighty-five years of life in this world with so little deviation from the ideal line? How much in the life of Judge Lea we may safely take as a model for ourselves and as an example for those whom we are set to instruct!

Reverence for the past, at least for the good in the past, is an important civic virtue. It is by learning to know the past and by profiting by the teachings we can draw from it that we learn to comprehend the present and anticipate the future, providing for the needs of the times. Our institutions, political, religious or of whatsoever social kind they may be, are not innovations. They are inheritances, or at least variations and developments of former institutions, adjusted to meet new conditions. We must know their origin before we can understand their uses and guard against their weaknesses and abuses. Judge Lea recognized this and cherished history, particularly the history of this country and this State. He sought while he lived to perpetuate and increase our historical store, through the agency of the Tennessee Historical Society more particularly, and it was his desire that we after his death should do likewise. What he, with Putnam and Nelson and Ramsey, and other worthies, living and dead, have accomplished need not be recited in this presence. Look about and see. It was much and it must incite us to more. And it is eminently fitting that we should first of all show our veneration for his noble character and civic virtues.

The world rushes on like a raging torrent. His life was like a quiet pool above a bubbling spring. With men in civilized communities the common social relations have been reduced to conventional forms which make life in society tolerable and possible. But in too many cases with too many men these forms are but a veneering, an outward polish. We strongly suspect that they are not even as good as they seem to be. Judge Lea stood above such suspicion, enjoying the unlimited confidence

of all. Many men have been more active in the public service ; there are many who have accomplished more. But few have served more earnestly, or more unselfishly or exhibited the sublimer virtues of citizenship, fellow citizenship, to a higher degree than he. He avoided public service through political channels. He avoided the turmoil and struggle, the rivalry and ambition of the common business life and was saved from unnumbered temptations thereby. But in private philanthropy he found a safe and inconspicuous sphere for exercising his talents and for performing real social service. He cherished the past for the good men did in it and for what it taught him about the means of promoting public welfare. He was in the world, but not absorbed by it. Its ills did not drag him down. On the contrary, he took hold of those who had been crushed down and helped to lift them up. Unlike the world with its excess of grossness, he exemplified refinements of character which cause the sublime ideals of human conduct to appear real and attainable among men.

REMARKS OF COLONEL GEORGE C. PORTER BE-
FORE THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
NOVEMBER 10, 1903, ON THE DEATH
OF JUDGE JOHN M. LEA.

Mr. President: Allow me to add a few words in the further consideration of the resolutions of your committee just submitted on the life and character of our deceased friend and associate, Judge John. M. Lea. The events and incidents of his history are neither rugged nor startling. His manly bark, well built and tall, was launched on a clear and placid stream, with no reefs nor shallows beneath its surface, nor rocks, nor whirlpools on either side. Guided by a strong and skillful hand, it was never cast ashore from pleasure's boisterous surge, nor stranded by the angry waves of selfish ambition, but glided evenly and safely into port with keel and cordage all intact, and laden with the rich products of many lands. The whole voyage of his life was one continued circumnavigation of all the virtues that exalt and adorn the character of man.

The city of Knoxville has the honor of being his birthplace. There he was born on the 25th day of December, 1818. He was the son of Luke Lea, a man well and favorably known and mentioned in the annals of the State. In early life he evinced a strong desire for knowledge, and having both the means and the capacity for its attainment, its acquisition by him was full and complete. At a suitable age he was matriculated at the University of Nashville, at that time one of the best institutions of learning in the South. He graduated in 1837, with the highest honors of his class. He chose the law for his profession, and entered assiduously upon the work of qualifying himself for its high and arduous duties. To become a profound jurist was the acme of his ambition, and doubtless he would have attained the end proposed had there been no intervention of ease and fortune, the inveterate and unrelenting foes to legal eminence. He began the practice of his profession in Nashville in 1840 and

must have made satisfactory advancement, for in 1842 he received from President Tyler an appointment as United States attorney for the Nashville District—at that time the most responsible judicial appointment in the State. The duties of this office he discharged with ability and credit till the change of administration in 1845.

His fine executive and administrative ability being known and appreciated by the citizens of Nashville, he was elected to the mayoralty in the year 1849. He served one term, and, though strenuously urged, refused the offer of a second one. It was during his period of service that the city was visited by an epidemic of cholera, and the way and manner in which that fearful scourge was combated by him and his co-laborers won the hearts and affections of all, and established his reputation both as an official and friend to the distressed in times of need. He was ever thereafter held in the highest esteem and regard by his people, who would at all times gladly have bestowed upon him any position of honor or emolument in their power. This was the only position he could be induced to accept from this time to the close of the war between the States. He never believed in the right nor the expediency of secession, and during the existence of that conflict was known and regarded as a Union man. Owing to his high character and standing he had great influence and weight with parties in power, both civil and military, which was always gladly exercised in behalf of his countrymen and fellow citizens when necessity or occasion demanded. Instances of material aid rendered by him during that unhappy period are abundant, and many might be found who could testify to them.

At the close of the war in 1865, he was induced by Governor Brownlow to accept the position of Judge of the Circuit Court of Davidson County, which he held for one year, declining fur-

emoluments of official station. He was a member of the Lower House of the General Assembly of 1875, and took an active and leading part in the deliberations of that session. He was the author of the general law for the formation and organization of corporations without special legislation. This is one of the most useful and salutary laws in the civil code of the State. This was the last public office he would ever accept at the hands of his fellow citizens.

In the year 1845, in the city of Memphis, he married Miss Elizabeth Overton, the second daughter of Judge John Overton, famous in the early history of the State—the friend, associate and adviser of General Jackson, and his immediate successor on the bench—one of the patriarchs of Tennessee in land and law. She was the sister of Colonel John Overton of our day and time, the generous and hospitable owner of "Travelers' Rest," the old historic country seat located a few miles south of Nashville. She was also the sister of the first Mrs. Robert C. Brinkley, of Memphis, Tennessee. They are now all dead, and thus the second generation of that noted family have passed away, but their impress upon our community will long be seen and felt, and the memory of their many deeds of charity and love will long remain with us to brighten and to cheer. The result of this union was three children—Overton, Robert and Luke Lea—only one of which number now remains, Mr. Overton Lea, a worthy son of a noble sire.

Macaulay, in his essay on Bacon, says: "It is a pleasure to turn from the contemplation of Bacon the man to Bacon the philosopher; the one comprehended so much glory, the other so much shame." There is no dualistic perspective in the personality of John M. Lea. There are no phenomenal elevations, nor corresponding depressions. The many and varied elements of character and the good and generous qualities of nature were so mixed and blended in him that his life constituted one complete, consistent and harmonious whole. It is therefore both a pleasure and a profit to contemplate and reflect upon the distinctive and distinguishing features of his life and character.

He was a just man—just in the truest and most comprehensive sense. One little incident will illustrate and justify this

statement. While the Income Tax law was in force, I was engaged in that branch of the Revenue Service. All parties having an income over a certain amount had to appear before the District Collector or Deputy and report the same for assessment. Among this class was Judge Lea. After his return was made, it showed that quite a large sum would be due from him to the Government as the result of his annual income from his various investments and property holdings. After the matter was concluded and the papers signed and delivered, he said that this was a most just, fair and equitable law; that he heartily endorsed and approved the same, and that he would gladly and willingly pay whatever sum was due from him to the government by reason of its existence; that the \$80,000,000 expected to be realized by its enforcement could be raised more easily and with less hurt and oppression to the great masses of our people than by any other method; that only those would be affected by it who were abundantly able to pay, and who ought to pay, and that its operation would be effective in bringing about harmony and good feeling among all classes of our people. After the law was annulled by the Supreme Court he expressed deep regret, and was amazed at the reasons assigned by the court in their final adjudication and disposition of the matter. Out of the hundreds making returns of their incomes he was the only one affected by it that ever spoke in commendation of the law. Decial and reprobation came from all the rest.

Now, this may seem, and in reality be, a little thing; but it takes little things to disclose high and noble elements of character. Great actions and striking occurrences, having excited a temporary admiration, may pass away and be forgotten, but little ones exhibiting a high degree of virtue and excellence find a lodgment in the hearts of men, and remain as though inscribed on adamant. The hero of New Orleans lugging the tender new lamb from the cold, damp meadow, and laying it gently down on the hearth before a blazing fire in his private chamber at the Hermitage: the great Isaac Newton, mildly

—which had cost him the toil and labor of many years, entailing a loss almost, if not quite, irreparable—saying, “Oh, Dimon, Dimon, thou little knowest the mischief thou hast done”—were object lessons, and exhibitions of a grandeur of heart and soul as worthy of remembrance and exaltation as the overthrow of Pakenham and his army by the one, or the invention of the Binomial Theorem by the other.

“Our acts, our angels are, or good, or ill,
Our fatal shadows that walk by us still.”

Judge Lea was at all times governed by reason and judgment; he was even and philosophic in temperament, safe and conservative in counsel, and wise in the administration of public and private affairs. In fact, he was the full and perfect exemplification of ideal republican citizenship. He had great decorum of deportment, a quick and discerning intellect, purity in morals, and such moderation, temperance and virtue in everything that it is a grateful and a pleasing task to look back upon such elevation and beauty of personal character. His parts were not shining, but solid; he may have lacked genius, but he had judgment, associated with an acute and penetrating mind. Had environments and incentives been other than those by which he was surrounded and impelled, he might have reached a position of eminence in the realm of useful and practical statesmanship, possessing as he did in no small degree Dean Swift's five essentials—knowledge, good intentions, diligence, judgment and will. He was social in the intercourse of life, simple in his tastes, his manners cordial, unaffected and affable, never at any time being actuated by a sinister motive, a selfish calculation or an unbecoming aspiration. To his practical, independent and utilitarian disposition and mentality, the “pride of place”—the tinsel and glamour of political station, the cares and responsibilities of office were neither alluring nor attractive. He spent as much time in the declination of office as many do in its search. Yet withal he was not without ambition. He may not have possessed that sort or kind which the old cardinal, “worn out by the cares and storms of state,” charged his faithful servant Cromwell to fling away, but that higher and nobler sort,

the end and aim of which is to elevate and ameliorate the condition of mankind—he possessed and encouraged in an eminent degree. The dismal vaticination embodied in that magnificent stanza from “Childe Harold”—

“He who ascends the mountain tops shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses, or subdues mankind,
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high above the sun of glory glow,
And far beneath the earth and ocean spread
’Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils that to those summits led.”

may with truth be applied to those who have reached the summit of fame’s dread mountain through seas of blood and carnage; those who have trampled in scorn upon the rights and properties of the weak and the poor; those who have transgressed that cardinal law handed down to us through the thunders and lightnings of Sinai—“Thou shalt covet nothing that is of thy neighbor’s”—to those styled by Jeffrey as “the curses of mankind”—the Alexanders, the Caesars, the Tamerlanes, the Saladins, the Alvas, Humayuns, and Napoleons, to these and such as these—but to those who have attained a safe and solid eminence in the temple of Fame, by being a help and a benefaction to their kind—surely to these and such as these—this wonderful conception of the part has no application. And in this temple I know of no one more worthy to occupy a lofty and commanding niche than our deceased friend and brother, John McCormick Lea. To such a character how applicable is that beautiful sentiment—“The drying up of a single tear has more of honest fame, than shedding seas of gore.”

REMARKS OF GENERAL G. P. THRUSTON BEFORE
THE LEA MEMORIAL MEETING OF THE
TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
NOVEMBER 10, 1903.

I presume there is no member of our Society present to-night who would not be pleased to testify to his affectionate regard for Judge Lea and his exalted character as a man and citizen. My long years of association and intimacy with him created a friendship of more value to me than I can express in words. We served together as officers of this Society for more than a quarter of a century. My term of service I think dates from 1874-75 and Judge Lea's from 1878. It is a rather painful reflection that I am the only survivor of the Board of Incorporators of the Tennessee Historical Society.

Outside of a circle of a dozen or more devoted members, Judge Lea's usefulness and interest in our Society can scarcely be appreciated. When we desired to make a creditable exhibit at the Tennessee Centennial, and our treasury was empty, he provided the means that made it practicable. When we found it necessary to make a complete catalogue of our books, manuscripts and letters, he aided us most liberally. This handsome and costly building, the Watkins Institute, and these spacious and elegant quarters, so long occupied by our Society without expense, are in some measure at least the result of his foresight and influence.

Si monumentum requiris circumspice. They are in part his monument. Judge Lea was the intimate friend and adviser of Mr. Watkins, and wrote his will creating this perpetual benefaction, so useful to our city, giving a home for our public library and a night school now enrolling and educating over four hundred students unable to attend our public day schools.

He was also the friend and adviser of Mr. Howard, the philanthropist, who, through Judge Lea's influence, gave a valuable fund to the Tennessee Historical Society, and provided the

means that made possible the founding of the Howard Library, our first public library, now the Carnegie Library.

Judge Lea was generous in his public and private charities. He was not an indiscriminate giver. He did not hesitate to decline to give when he did not fully approve. I recall one incident in the life of our old friend, Mr. Watkins, which shows how we sometimes unjustly criticise those who have their peculiar way of being liberal and charitable. Mr. Watkins occupied the pew immediately in front of me in the First Presbyterian Church for years. I noticed that it was his custom to place but a quarter of a dollar in the collection basket each Sunday. I remarked to my wife that it seemed a very small contribution for a man of his means. She replied that Sam Watkins knew his own mind and perhaps was giving liberally in other directions. After a time he passed away and when his will was read we found that he had saved \$130,000 for this splendid public charity, the Watkins Institute, and thus the economy and simplicity of his life was well explained.

A just estimate of Judge Lea's life and character must place him at the head of the list of Nashville's eminent citizens. Had he desired political preferment he could have obtained its highest honors, but he sought only the modest and sometimes more useful honors of citizenship and private life. He was gifted with personal characteristics that would have won him honors and the affection of his friends in any sphere of life.

In my youth I thought public station and political office the most desired objects in life. Clement L. Vallandigham, the distinguished politician and lawyer of Ohio, lived in my city, and when I was but a boy he took me out with him in a local political campaign and let me air my ignorance, as an embryo political speaker, but when I settled in Nashville I had to give up my political aspirations. This was perhaps fortunate, as I

honor and duty marked him as one of nature's noblemen, a Christian gentleman of the highest type. Extreme age did not lessen his efforts to be faithful and useful in the varied relations of life.

I had a letter from him written but a short time before his death. "Alas," he says, "I have lived my life and that which I have done may He within Himself make pure. Thank God my memory and my mental faculties seem to outlive my body. I have had much for which to be thankful. My friends I love and I do not hate or wish evil to my enemies. God forgive them and give me the charity to forgive them, too."

It is impossible to estimate the value and good influence of such a life. It is a lesson to us all.

REMARKS OF COLONEL J. B. KILLEBREW BEFORE
THE LEA MEMORIAL MEETING OF THE
TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SO-
CIETY, NOV. 10, 1903.

Colonel Killebrew said:

While the distinguished speakers that have preceded me have done full justice to the mental capacity, benevolence and public spirit of Judge Lea, and also to his vast knowledge concerning the military, civil and political history of Tennessee, they have said nothing about his familiarity with the natural history of the State. He had a correct knowledge of all the trees and shrubs of Tennessee, was an excellent botanist and on one occasion, while I was employed in collecting samples of the various woods of Tennessee for exhibition at the Centennial Exhibition, he mentioned one tree of which I knew nothing. This was the Chittim wood, otherwise called Yellow wood, and botanically known as *Cladrastis tinctoria*. He spoke of this tree as being very ornamental and one of the handsomest and neatest in the forests of Tennessee. At my request, he wrote out a description of it and told me where I could get samples of the wood. Upon investigation, I found this tree to be a very rare one and with a comparatively feeble vitality. It grows in the rich woods of the central basin of Middle Tennessee, and also in Eastern Kentucky. It has a close bark like the beech, and the leaves are three or four inches in length, smooth and with parallel veins. It has hanging panicles a foot long or more and has delicate creamy and fragrant white flowers that appear in May and June.

Judge Lea had spent many leisure but profitable hours in the country and it gave him great pleasure to study the habits of all the domestic animals, as well as those of the wild beasts and birds of the forest. He knew them all and never felt the want of mental recreation and amusement while he had about him so many flowers and trees and beasts and other natural

objects. He was also fairly well acquainted with the geological formations of Tennessee and could point out where the deposits of the various minerals were to be found.

In a word, Judge Lea was one of the best informed men on all questions relating to the State of Tennessee that has ever lived in it. He was an all-round man, able to write and speak in an intelligent manner upon any subject that concerned Tennessee.

ANNALS OF A SCOTCH-IRISH FAMILY: THE WHITSITTS OF NASHVILLE, TENN.

BY WILLIAM H. WHITSITT, RICHMOND COLLEGE, RICHMOND, VA.

Nobilis hic, quocumque venit de gramine, cujus clara fuga ante alios et primus in æquore pulvis.—*Juvenal* VIII, 60-1.

I.

Preliminary.—The Whitsitt family is widely extended. Persons bearing their name and blood may be found in nearly every portion of the United States and Canada, as also in Ireland and Scotland. To treat of them all would be beyond my powers and learning. I shall therefore confine my attention to that small section of the family with which I chance to be most acquainted, namely, the Nashville Whitsitts. The best records of these have been kept by the Blakey family, of Russellville, Ky. They rest upon the industry and authority of three persons, namely, Mrs. Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey; her son, Doctor George Douglas Blakey, and her grandson, Honorable Churchill H. Blakey, all of whom are now deceased. They were industrious chroniclers, and the family owes them a debt of gratitude.

First Entry.—The opening entry of the Whitsitt annals is expressed in the following words:

“William Whitsitt, the son of William Whitsitt, the son of Samuel Whitsitt (all of Ireland), married Elizabeth Dawson, of Ireland. William Whitsitt, son of the aforesaid William, married Miss Ellen Menees, daughter of James Menees, who married the widow of Ranney Breathitt, formerly Miss Ellen Cardwell; died at the residence of his son, the Rev. James Whitsitt, in the vicinity of Nashville, Tennessee, July 14, 1811. Ellen Menees Whitsitt, his wife, was born ———, and died at Rural Choice, Kentucky, the home of her son-in-law, George Blakey, September 13, 1818.”

Here are four generations of the family. Of these the first two died in Ireland. William Whitsitt the second was the im-

migrant, and shortly after the year 1731 he came over the sea with his wife, Elizabeth (Dawson) Whitsitt, and their son, William Whitsitt the third, who had been born in their Irish home on the 20th of August, 1731.

The name Samuel, which was borne by the first father of the Nashville family, has persisted to some extent among his descendants. William Whitsitt the third called the second of his three sons by that name, but he died without issue. The Rev. James Whitsitt, of Nashville, called one of his sons Samuel Dawson, in honor of his grandmother and his great-grandfather.

It is assumed that the Nashville Whitsitts landed in Pennsylvania along with the other Scotch-Irish immigrants; but the ship that bore them and the precise date of its arrival are as yet unknown. If William Whitsitt, the immigrant, had other children besides his son William the third, the family records take no account of them; nor does any tradition of them survive in the memories of the family.

Nomenclature.—The Whitsitts are a numerous tribe in Ireland, where they bore and still bear the name of Whiteside. Mr. Hanna in his important work entitled "The Scotch-Irish; or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland and North America," New York and London, 1902, does not mention the name Whitsitt as occurring in Ireland, but there is quite a force of the Whitesides there. In Appendix I, Vol. II, he undertakes to indicate the location of Scottish families in Ireland, and on page 527 makes the following entry: "Whiteside 18-16 Antrim and Armagh," which certifies that during the year 1890 there were eighteen children born to the Whiteside family throughout Ireland, and that sixteen of them belonged to the counties of Antrim and Armagh. Mr. Hanna affirms (vol. ii, p. 519), that the average birth rate for that year throughout Ireland was one child to 44.7 of the population. Multiplying this figure by the number of births it would indicate that in the whole of Ireland there was in 1890 a Whiteside population of 806, of whom 716 were inhabitants of Antrim and Armagh. The fact that Antrim is placed first in this enumeration would appear to signify that the Whitesides are more numerous in that county.

Scattered notices demonstrate that they are also found in other sections of the island. Lippincott's "Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary" gives an account of "James Whiteside, LL.D., an Irish jurist and conservative statesman born in the county of Wicklow about 1806. He studied at Trinity College, Dublin, and subsequently obtained a high reputation as a lawyer and orator. He was one of the leading counsel in the defense of O'Connell in 1843, and also defended Smith O'Brien in the trials of 1848. He was elected to parliament in 1851 for Enniskillen, and in 1859 was returned for the University of Dublin. He became about 1866 Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland. He has published a work entitled *Italy and the Nineteenth Century*, 1849."

In their Scottish home the Whitesides appear to have been a sept of the Bell clan of Annandale. Mr. Hanna in the work above cited supplies (vol. ii, p. 438) a couple of lists of Border clans, one for the year 1547 and the other for the year 1597, in both of which the Bell clan appears. In the year 1685 John Bell, of Whiteside, seems to have been at the head of this clan, and the following notice is taken of his death: "Sir Robert Grierson, of Lagg, having the command of a party of Claverhouse's troop, and Strachan's Dragoons, surprised John Bell, of Whiteside; David Halliday, portioner of Mayfield; Andrew McCrabit, James Clement and Robert Lenox, of Irlintoun, and barbarously killed them after quarter, without time allowed to pray. When John Bell, of Whiteside, begged a little time to pray, Lagg answered: 'What the devil have ye been doing? Have ye not prayed enough these many years in the hills?' and so shot him presently in the Parish of Tongland in Galloway, February, 1685." (Hanna, II, 258.)

Into whatever regions and perils the Scotch-Irish of America went abroad the Whitesides and the Whitsitts have traveled with them. Owing to the fact that they made their advent first in Pennsylvania, they are perhaps more numerous in that State than in any other, but they are represented in almost all the States of our country and in Canada likewise. One is liable to

named in honor of General Samuel Whiteside, who led the troops of the commonwealth in the campaigns of 1831 and 1832 against the Indian chief, Black Hawk. The United States Postal Guide shows the following list of post offices that have been named in honor of the various members of the tribe :

Whitsett, Fayette County, Pennsylvania ; Whitsett, Guilford County, North Carolina ; Whitsett, Dooley County, Georgia ; Whitsett, Crawford County, Missouri ; Whitsitt, Hale County, Alabama ; Whiteside, Marion County, Tennessee ; Whiteside, Lincoln County, Missouri ; Whiteside Cove, Jackson County, North Carolina ; Whiteside Corners, Saratoga County, New York.

In addition to the above, Mt. Whiteside is a distinguished feature of the Sapphire country in North Carolina.

In the "Official Register of the United States, Containing a List of the Officers and Employees in the Civil, Military and Naval Service," two vols., Washington, 1901, one may observe that they are scattered in all sections of the country, and fond of the public service, as also successful at finding positions in it. There likewise appears in this Register a considerable diversity in the spelling of the name. Most of the employees of the Government spell it Whiteside, but Colonel Samuel Marmaduke Whitside, of the regular army, illustrates one of the processes by which it must have been shortened to Whitsitt, and Mr. W. H. Whitesitt, postmaster at Paragon, Morgan County, Indiana, illustrates another. Nearly all of those who have contracted the name from Whiteside prefer to spell it Whitsett, but the Nashville family have always insisted upon the form Whitsitt.

II.

Albemarle Period.—I have no definite knowledge of the Whitesides in Scotland and Ireland, or even in Pennsylvania. My researches begin with their advent to the colony of Virginia in the spring of 1741. Following is a list of the Royal Patents issued to persons of the Whiteside name in Virginia :

1. William Whiteside, March 15, 1741, 400 acres. Vol. XX, p. 162.

2. Thomas Whiteside, December 1, 1748, 400 acres. Vol. XXVII, p. 50.
3. William Whiteside, April 4, 1753, 300 acres. Vol. XXXII, p. 55.
4. William Whiteside, July 25, 1768, 181 acres. Vol. XXXVII, p. 272.
5. William Whiteside, April 6, 1769, 160 acres. Vol. XXXVIII, p. 517.

Except the last, all of the above estates lie within the present limits of the county of Albemarle, and in that section of it which was occupied by the Scotch-Irish settlers. The last named was entered across the Blue Ridge in what was then Augusta, but is now Rockbridge County. It is capable of proof that the first and fourth Patents were issued to William Whiteside, the immigrant founder of the Nashville Whitsitts. Nothing is known of the degree of relationship that existed between this William Whiteside and Thomas Whiteside.

The early records of Albemarle County were destroyed by the British Colonel Tarleton, who raided the town of Charlottesville in June, 1781. In his valuable work on Albemarle County, Charlottesville, 1901, Rev. Edgar Woods, D.D., says: "The gap thus occasioned reaches from 1748 to 1783, a period of thirty-five years, and one intensely interesting in the history of the county at large. . . . Many references to this event are met with in subsequent proceedings of the County Court. In 1794 it recommended John Key, George Divers, Thomas Garth, Thomas W. Lewis, Garland Carr, Thomas Bell, Robert Jouett, W. W. Hening and Cornelius Schenk as Commissioners to reinstate such records as had been lost or destroyed." P. 25.

These gentlemen did their best, no doubt, but there were necessarily some defects in their work. For example no account was supplied by them of any transfer of Patent Number 2 by

and in due course of time the land was probably allowed to return to the possession of the Crown. These conditions were not burdensome under ordinary circumstances, but in the confusion and peril of the nine years conflict, he may have found that it required all his energies to retain possession of the home place where he resided with his family.

The Surveyor's Book of Albemarle County, Vol. I, page 340, shows that Patent Number 4 was surveyed for William Whiteside by John Staples, Assistant Surveyor, on the 19th of November, 1755, but he did not find himself in a situation to take out the Patent until July 25, 1768. These dates and items will supply a pathetic suggestion of the embarrassments that overtook the dwellers in these deep forests during the weary season of strife with the savage enemy.

William Whiteside the third, who, it will be remembered, was born in Ireland on the 20th of August, 1731, had attained his majority before that great struggle began, and the Surveyor's Book of Albemarle, Vol. I., page 258, likewise shows that on the 29th of March, 1754, Assistant Surveyor William Cabell, Jr., surveyed for him a tract of sixty acres "on the South Branch of the North Fork of Davis' Creek." But the storm and stress were so great that the young man was never able to take out the anticipated Patent. The above survey indicates that the land selected by young Whiteside was situated in the neighborhood of the estate of one John Wade. In the year 1763 when the war had finally closed and he was casting about to begin life in earnest, Whiteside returned to the North Fork of Davis' Creek, which, by that time had come to be embraced in Amherst County, and instead of taking out a Patent for the original survey of sixty acres, he purchased two hundred acres from the aforesaid John Wade and his wife, Elizabeth. One might raise the inquiry whether the young man was previously connected with the Wade family by blood or by any other relation.

The fifth of these Patents appears to have been issued to another William Whiteside, who resided in the present limits of Rockbridge County. In the year 1753 Timber Ridge Church extended a call to the Rev. John Brown, a graduate of Princeton and a licentiate of New Castle Presbytery. The list of

signers contains many of the noblest names in Virginia, and among the rest was William Whiteside, to whom the fifth of the above Patents appears to have been issued.

It may be found in Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," Philadelphia, 1855, Second Series, pp. 95-96, and constitutes a desirable monument of the Whitsitt family. On the 10th of February, 1890, I received a letter from Mr. Joseph G. Whitsitt, of Belton, Texas, in which he inquires regarding a tradition existing in his family to the effect that his ancestors came to America in the same ship with the ancestors of General Samuel Houston, of Texas. I was unable to supply the information that he requested. But in this list the names of five of the Houstons occur in connection with that of William Whiteside, and it seems not improbable that the Whitsitts of Belton were derived from him. In the same list (p. 96), is also found the name of Moses Whiteside. Among the Whitsitts of northern Georgia the name Moses has been often used, and it seems possible that they may have derived their origin from these worthies of Timber Ridge, in Rockbridge county.

Whiteside Creek.—William Whiteside, the immigrant, found a home in the midst of the stout Scotch-Irish colonists, who, coming down the Valley of Virginia, had crossed the Blue Ridge into Albemarle at and after the year 1737. His entry called for "four hundred acres lying and being in the county of Goochland, on both sides the South Fork of Mechums River." He occupied that place from the 15th of March, 1741, until the 7th of July, 1767, when he sold it to Adam Dean for £250 "current money of Virginia." The most important memorial of his residence of six and twenty years in this home appears in the fact that the "South Fork of Mechum's river" that ran through his farm acquired the name of Whiteside Creek, which it has carried ever since on the maps of Albemarle. Dr. Wood, the

been diverted in recent years by the celebrated Miller School of that neighborhood, and conveyed into a reservoir whence is supplied the power for running their large electric plant and various other kinds of machinery.

Religion.—The character of the community in which William Whiteside and his family resided in Albemarle will be sufficiently indicated by the following call which he united with his neighbors in extending to the Rev. Samuel Black. The names of the signers are retained to show the personnel of the community:

Ivy Creek, March 29, 1747.

Whereas it is agreed or proposed that ye Inhabitants of Ivy Creek and ye Mountain Plain Congregation joyn together with ye Congregation of Rockfish to call and invite ye Reverend Samuel Black, now Residing in ye bounds of ye Rev. Mr. John Craig's Congregation, to administer ye ordinances of ye Gospel among us: All we whose names are hereunto affixed, do promise and oblige ourselves to pay yearly and every year ye several sums annexed to our names, for ye outward support and Incouragement of ye said Mr. Samuel Black during his abode and continuance among us, for ye one half of his Labor in ye Administration of Gospel Ordinances to us in an orderly way, according to ye Rules and practice of our Orthodox Reformed Presbyterian Church: as Witness our hands.

	£.	s.	d.
Michael Woods....	1	10	..
William Woods....	1	10	..
Archibald Woods....	1	5	..
William Wallace....	1	5	..
Andrew Wallace....		10	..
John Woods, Sr....		15	..
John Greer....		10	..
Thomas Lockhart....		10	..
Peter Hairston....		8	..
Adam Gaudylock....		10	..
Michael Woods, Jr....		10	..
William McCord....		10	..
John Gamble....		10	..
Davis Stockton....	1

	£.	s.	d.
John Monday..	5	..	
Thomas Evins..	5	..	
John Woods, Jr..	5	..	
John Jameson..	10	..	
Benjamin Wheeler..	5	..	
W. Bucknall..	5	..	
John Burrise..	5	..	
Robert Stewart..	5	2	
James Kincaid..	10	5	
Andrew McWilliams..	10	2½	
George Dawson..	5	2½	
Thomas Wright..	5	..	
William Little..	10	2½	
Nathan Woods..	10	3	
Samuel Jameson..	1	..	
John Lockhart..	15	..	
Henry Burch..	10	..	
Thomas Alexander	10	..	
Patrick Woods..	8	2	
John McCulloch..	10	..	
William Ogans..	12	2	
William Chamberlain..	5	..	
Thomas Craig..	5	..	
John Thompson	5	..	
John Corban..	6	2	
Henry Carr..	5	2½	
James Weir..	12	2	
Robert McNeilly..	6	2	
John Dicky..	6	1	
William Norris..	6	1	
John Kincaid..	5	..	
Joseph Kincaid..	1	..	
John McCord..	1	..	
Archibald Woods	10	..	
William Whiteside..	10	..	
William Bustard..	6	..	
Thomas Whiteside..	10	..	
Matthew Mullins..	5	..	
Richard Stockton..	12	..	

The Battle Church.—A building called by that name still stands on the banks of Whiteside Creek, just above Batesville in Albemarle. Everybody in the neighborhood appeared during my recent visit to be familiar with the structure, but nobody was

able to explain the origin of the name. Churchill H. Blakey, of Kentucky, used to speak of a tradition widely prevalent in the family to the effect that the Rev. George Whitefield once preached in the tobacco barn of William Whiteside. As the Battle Church stands apparently upon the farm of William Whiteside it is possible that this was the place where Mr. Whitefield preached. It may have been used at certain seasons for agricultural purposes and at other seasons for purposes of religious worship.

The title "Battle Church" has most likely descended from the period of the French and Indian War, that raged from 1754 to 1763. The Commonwealth of Virginia has borne the brunt of three great trials of war, namely, the Confederate War, the Revolutionary War and the French and Indian War. Owing to the poverty of resources and the length of the struggle the French and Indian War was one of the most trying. The country was exposed to countless incursions of ruthless barbarians. If the barn of William Whiteside had previously served as a place of religious worship, where the neighbors who found it difficult to journey as far as Mountain Plain Church might assemble to hear the word of God, it was now likely made to serve the additional uses of a blockhouse. I am not informed of any serious conflict with the Indians at this point, but one or two minor engagements may have conspired to win for it the designation of Battle Church. After the war it returned to its former uses, and still does service as a barn.

When in the year 1788, long after the departure of the original owners, a Baptist church was established in the immediate vicinity of the so-called Battle Church, it was called Whiteside Church, apparently in honor of William Whiteside. But in 1806 when a new edifice was erected on the opposite side of the road the name of Whiteside was discontinued and the church has since been known as Mt. Ed Church.—(*Semple's History of Virginia Baptists*, Beale's edition, p. 225.)

William Whiteside the Third.—Several of the Whitesides are mentioned in connection with this long war. William Whiteside, of Augusta County, to whom reference was made above, was likely too far advanced to render military service, but he is said

to have performed some work for the Colony which paid him 11s. 6d. for his services. (*Hening Statutes at Large*, 7, 194.) Moses Whiteside was a member of the Augusta militia. (*Hening*, 7, 195.) There was likewise a William Whiteside in Bedford who furnished provisions to the militia of that county and received compensation for it. (*Hening*, 7, 206.) William Whiteside the second was already an aged man, but his son, William Whiteside the third, was a member of the Albemarle militia. (*Hening*, 7, 203.) George Washington commanded the forces of Virginia in this long and painful struggle, which served as an excellent preparation for the great deeds which he was destined to accomplish in the War of the Revolution.

Return of Peace.—The Peace of Paris, which closed the war of nine years against the French and Indians, was concluded in February, 1763. William Whiteside the third almost immediately afterwards quitted his father's house in Albemarle and established himself in the new county of Amherst. On the 5th of September, 1763, he purchased from John Wade and his wife, Elizabeth, two hundred acres of land "on both sides of Davises Creek, a branch of Rockfish River." This estate is at present situated in the county of Nelson. The indenture declares that the purchaser is already a resident of the county of Amherst, and in it his name is uniformly spelled Whitsitt, but in one or two instances the "i" of the last syllable has been left without any dot above it.

Marriage of William Whitsitt.—The date is unknown. It may have occurred sometime before the Treaty of Paris had been duly signed by the Powers in February, 1763. He was united to Ellen Menees, the only daughter of James Menees, Sr., who resided near Amherst Courthouse. Possibly Whitsitt may have remained on his Davis Creek estate until the 7th of September, 1767, when he purchased a farm of three hundred acres from his father-in-law.

deed he is already described as "William Whiteside, of Amherst." His wife, Elizabeth, takes part in the conveyance and signs the deed.

But on the 25th of July, 1768, more than a year later, William Whiteside patented one hundred and eighty-one acres lying alongside of his former estate on Whiteside Creek, and on the 19th of September, 1769, himself and his wife Elizabeth united in conveying it also to Adam Dean for £50. In this second deed he is again said to be a citizen of Amherst.

The last glimpse that appears of this now venerable couple was on the 6th of August, 1770, when a commission was forwarded from Albemarle to Amherst to the effect that Elizabeth should be examined "privately and apart from the said William her husband" as to whether she freely consented to this transfer. How long they survived is unknown. It seems certain, however, that the immigrant who established the Nashville family of Whitesitts passed away in Amherst County, shortly after the year 1770.

But the name was not yet extinguished in Albemarle. Thomas Whiteside is supposed to have been still alive and an occupant of the estate which he had patented on the 1st of December, 1748. It is likewise possible that William and Elizabeth Whiteside had other children besides their son William, and that some of these may have remained behind in Albemarle. The records of Albemarle show that on the 11th of May, 1768, one William Whiteside, who claims to be of that county, conveyed to George Davidson for £14, one pacing mare and divers other commodities. But neither of the William Whitesides in the Nashville line was at that date a resident of Albemarle. It is possible that this William Whiteside may have been a son of Thomas Whiteside.

List of Albemarle Documents.—The entries under the name of Whiteside are not numerous in the records of Albemarle County: there are none at all under the name of Whitesitt. Some of the documents may have been lost in the burning of the books by Colonel Tarleton. Following is a list as they now appear:

1. July 7, 1767, William and Elizabeth Whiteside to Adam Dean, three hundred and seventy-three acres or thereabout. Witnessed by William Winston, William Grayson, William Stockton and Maryan Winston.

2. May 11, 1768, William Whiteside, bill of sale of mare, etc., to George Davidson. Witnessed by Michael Woods, Jr., and Samuel Davison.

3. September 19, 1769, William and Elizabeth Whiteside to Adam Dean, one hundred and eighty-one acres. Witnesses: Samuel Stockton, John Davis, James Walker and Prudence Stockton.

4. August 6, 1770, writ dispatched from Albemarle to Amherst to examine Elizabeth Whiteside as to whether her consent was freely given to the last mentioned transfer. Commission executed by Timothy Riggs and John Robinson, Esquires, of Amherst, and their return ordered to be recorded by Albemarle Court at the session for March, 1771.

James Menees, Sr.—Having set forth the history of William Whiteside, the immigrant who founded the Nashville Whitsitts, it will now be in order to give some account of James Menees, Sr., the immigrant who established the female line of the house. After a careful review of the deeds given during the Amherst period it seems clear that the name was originally McNees, since it is repeatedly spelled that way in the body of a number of documents, although the members of the family commonly subscribed it Menees. The name appears to have been in a state of transition at Amherst, precisely as in the case of the Whitsitt name.

McNees or McNeese is a well-known name in Ireland, while the name Menees is not mentioned there. According to the tables of Mr. Hanna, in his work on the Scotch-Irish, there were born in the year 1890 seventeen McNeese children in the whole of Ireland—sixteen in County Antrim and one in County Down—which shows according to the calculations given above that there were seven hundred and fifteen people of that name in Antrim.

But it will be remembered that Antrim was the chief home of the Whitesides in Ireland. Is it possible that William Whitsitt went from Albemarle to Amherst to woo and wed Ellen Menees

James Menees, Sr., is supposed to have been born about the year 1710, and to have made his way to America with the Scotch-Irish migration shortly after the year 1730. Arrived in America he married Mrs. Ellen Breathitt, whose maiden name was Miss Ellen Cardwell. The Cardwells are likewise a Scotch-Irish family. The tables of Mr. Hanna show that in the year 1890 nine children of that name were born in Ireland, all of them in County Antrim, the home of the McNees family. Had James Menees been acquainted with Ellen Cardwell already in County Antrim, where the Cardwells are now represented by three hundred and ninety-six people? Supposing that he may have felt an early attraction for her, he was unsuccessful in his suit, since she first gave her hand and heart to Ranney Breathitt. The name appears to have been originally Braithwaite, which would indicate Danish or Norman extraction, though he may have been a native of Antrim in Ireland. At any rate the Breathitts were fond of Scotch-Irish lasses. John Breathitt, of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, a brother of the aforesaid Ranney, about 1740 went to Maryland, and not far from Hagerstown married Miss Jane Kelley, a daughter of William Kelley, a wealthy Scotch-Irishman, and carrying her back to his home brought up a large family of sons, one of whom was named Ranney with reference to the maiden name of his mother, but perhaps especially with reference to his brother Ranney, who some years previously had married Miss Ellen Cardwell and shortly afterwards passed away. It is supposed to have been about the year 1738 when James Menees married the widow, perhaps in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, where the Breathitts appear to have been then established.

The strongest objection to the above construction of the history of the family lies in the circumstance that the Breathitts retained an uncommon degree of affection for Ellen Cardwell, and have continued for generations to call their children Cardwell, apparently in her honor. Cardwell Breathitt, a son of Governor John Breathitt, passed away only recently in the State of Missouri. Is it conceivable that the Breathitts were also Scotch-Irish people, and that intimate relations had been maintained between them and the Cardwells already for generations in Antrim?

Ellen Cardwell must have been a person of singular force and sweetness, if one may judge from the impression she left upon the Menees family, who still delight to name their children in honor of this, their first mother in America. After the birth of three children, Ellen, James and Benjamin, she was carried away apparently after only a few years of married life. In the year 1767 James Menees, Sr., had a second wife named Margaret, who bore him no children. She was much respected and beloved. William Whitsitt appears to have called in her honor his third daughter Margaret, who was born on the 26th of October, 1767.

Upon the distribution of his estate to his children in 1767, the elder James Menees reserved a sufficient amount to maintain himself in comfort and credit. He was always a provident and successful economist. It would be hard to find a more worthy specimen of the stout Scotch-Irish race. He lived in Amherst until February, 1782, when he went with his wife to reside in Pittsylvania County, near his son Benjamin, who then owned a farm on Turkey Cock Creek, not far from the border of Henry. In November, 1783, he took up his residence with the Whitsitts near Martinsville, in Henry County, and remained with them until their removal to Tennessee in October, 1790, when he found a home with his grandchildren, Mr. and Mrs. William Breathitt, until his death, in 1792. The Breathitt home in which he died has long since been removed, but its site is still pointed out, about two hundred yards in the rear of the present residence of Mr. William H. Wells, near Martinsville, in Henry County.

Changing the Name.—The responsibility of changing the name of the Nashville family from Whiteside to Whitsitt appears to rest with William Whitsitt. His father always signed himself Whiteside, and the name of the son was written Whiteside in the records of the Albemarle militia. But when he went to live in Amherst he began to call himself Whitsitt. However, this

herself in the deed as "Elliner his wife." Possibly he returned to the name Whiteside in this instance at the suggestion of Martin, who may have conceived that the land would be more secure in his possession if it were conveyed by the ancient name of Whiteside in preference to the modern name of Whitsitt.

It is fair to add that in all the other Amherst documents the name is written Whitsitt. Likewise, during the period of his residence in Henry County, he uniformly employed the form Whitsitt. But at Nashville on the 7th of July, 1795, he entered six hundred and forty acres in Neely's Bend under the name of William Whitsitt, and on the 24th of February, 1801, after having removed to Logan County, Kentucky, he sold one hundred and ten acres of this tract to Tyree Harris under the name of William Whiteside. It seems clear, therefore, that while he commonly called himself Whitsitt he would occasionally recur to the original name.

If Whitsitt yielded to the preferences of his wife in adopting the shorter form of the name, it seems clear that this shorter form had not been originated by her. On the contrary the right of choice between the two forms appears to have been already widely recognized, and large numbers of the family both in the Northern and Southern section of the country had adopted the shorter form.

Indeed, the change seems to have been begun already in Ireland. Attention is requested to the following letter in proof of that point:

PERTH AMBOY, May 15, 1893.

DOCTOR WM. H. WHITSITT, Louisville, Ky.:

Dear Sir: Your name and address like mine is found in the Book Record of the Scotch-Irish Society. My people were of that class, and among those of them who left Ireland in 1747 I find the name of a collateral, Thomas Whitesett, who was in Indian Run, Del., in 1766. A brother William was living near Dublin in 1783, at Ballyhough Bridge, now a part of that city. Are you of the same family? I trouble you because names sometimes are changed very much in the course of time. My object is genealogical and biographical.

Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM PATERSON.

III.

The Amherst Period.—The Whitsitts had hoped to find rest and peace in Albemarle, but nine years of their stay there were occupied by a fierce and trying Indian war. If they looked for peace and rest in Amherst they were doomed to still more serious disappointment. Hardly had they become established in their new home before the clouds which foretokened the struggle of the Revolution began to show themselves above the horizon. William Whitsitt was already forty-five years of age when that great trial began, and so far as I know was not enlisted in the military service. He had a young and growing family about him. The following is believed to be a correct list of his children:

1. Elizabeth, named perhaps after her grandmother Elizabeth Dawson Whiteside, and born about 1763.
2. Frances, born about 1765, and died without issue.
3. Margaret, named apparently after her stepgrandmother, the second wife of James Menees, Sr., and born October 26, 1767.
4. Jane, died without issue.
5. James, named in honor of his grandfather James Menees, Sr., and born January 31, 1771.
6. Samuel, died without issue.
7. Nancy, died without issue.
8. Ellen.
9. William, born 1780, and named in honor of his father.
10. Sarah.
11. Susan, died without issue.

Amherst Neighbors.—After the 7th of September, 1767, the entire family of James Menees, Jr., was settled about him on Rutledge's Creek, about a mile south of Amherst Courthouse. William Whitsitt had purchased three hundred acres from his father-in-law for £30, while the sons, James Menees, Jr., and Benjamin Menees, obtained the like amount for the nominal sum of five shillings each. The difference between them must have

to have been the eldest child. James Menees, Jr., was the second in age, and Benjamin the youngest. The wife of James was named Elizabeth, and that of Benjamin was called Ann, but I have not been able to discover the family name of either.

The nearest neighbor appears to have been Stephen Ham, whose wife, Milly, must have been a daughter of James Nowlin, who, on the same 7th of September, 1767, conveyed to Ham one hundred and six acres of land for three pence. Mr. Ham achieved a comfortable fortune. His will was dated September 1. 1810, and recorded February 17, 1812. He left a large estate and a family of twelve children, as follows: John Ham, Mrs. Frances Plunket, James Ham, Ambrose Ham, Lucy Turner, Elizabeth Knight, William Ham, Samuel Ham, Susannah Douglass, Polly Douglass, Bartlett Ham and Sally Turner. Among the other neighbors, the Ruckers—Anthony, Ambrose, Benjamin and Isaac—and the McDaniels—John and George—are most frequently mentioned. General Daniel Gaines, who subsequently went to Georgia and established the town of Gainesville, was on a friendly footing. David Woodroof, Isaac Wright, Josias Gilbert and W. Pollard also appear among their associates.

Religion.—In his "History of the Baptists in Virginia" Doctor Semple publishes the "Minutes of the First Separate Baptist Association" (*Beale's Edition*, pp. 69-74). This meeting, styled "an occasional association," was held at "Craig's meetinghouse in Orange county, second Saturday in May, 1771." In the list of the churches, "Amherst Church, a new church," is found, and it was represented by Thomas Hargitt and James Menees.

This was James Menees, Jr., and not James Menees, Sr. Doctor R. B. C. Howell, who, in 1850, published an elaborate biography of the Rev. James Whitsitt in *The Christian Chronicle*, a Baptist journal in the city of New York, represents that James Menees, Sr., did not join the Baptists before the year 1789, at which time he was residing in Henry County, Virginia.

Mr. Thomas Hargitt, the other representative of the Amherst Church at this initial Association, was a minister. The Rev. John Williams, likewise a minister, who was present as a representative of the Amelia Church, enters in his manuscript journal

the following reference to Mr. Hargitt: "Went for the Association about 18 miles, Saturday morning, May 1771. Got to the Association about one o'clock. Brother Hargitt was then about to preach to about 1,200 souls from 40th chapter Isa., 11th verse." (*Semple, Beale's Edition*, p. 489.).

The forbears of James Menees, Jr., had been Presbyterians ever since the establishment of the Protestant Reformation of the Church; had likely applauded and supported Knox in his conflicts with Queen Mary; had also been harried by the troopers of Claverhouse; and had stood against King James at the Battle of the Boyne. That such a man should depart from his Church was no slight proposition. Yet the step was not taken in any spirit of passion or pride. He indulged no flippant contempt for the faith of his fathers. There was a great revival of religion in Virginia and he found in the communion of the Baptists better satisfaction for his religious needs and aspirations.

The Rev. John Williams supplies this additional account of the transactions at Craig's meetinghouse in May, 1771: "Brother Burrus got up immediately [after Mr. Hargitt] and preached from Isa., Ch. 55 3d verse . . . with a good deal of liberty, and set the Christians all afire with the love of God; Assembly praising God with a loud voice; Brother Waller exhorting till he got spent; Brethren Marshall and E. Craig both broke loose together, the Christians shouting and they speaking for the space of half an hour or more; then ceased." (*Semple, Beale's Edition*, p. 489.) Brother Marshall was an uncle of John Marshall, who later was appointed Chief Justice of the United States.

The Amherst Church founded by Hargitt and Menees was situated some miles distant from the courthouse. No traces of it now remain, but it is reported to have survived as late as the year 1830. Owing to the fact that it was surrounded by the

ginia. Most of the Baptists of Virginia were of that type, and it was they who bore the brunt of the conflict for religious liberty in the commonwealth. The Rev. John Williams, in his manuscript journal above cited, thus refers to an item of business that came up for discussion at the Association: "Then I thought we had gotten over our difficulties, but what appeared dreadful, shocking—query concerning preachers getting license—a dreadful contention about it, and once I thought that every one that had obtained license would absolutely be censured. But the majority was in our favor. After a great debate we agreed to refer it to the next association." (*Semple, Beale's Edition*, p. 492.)

Regular Baptist ministers almost uniformly sought and obtained from the Governor and Council at Williamsburg license to open places of dissenting worship according to law. But the Separate Baptists, maintaining that they had received a commission from a higher court, nearly all disdained to apply for a license from any earthly authority. The issue was thus distinctly drawn. The ministers of the Separate fraternity, in preaching without license, acted in plain violation of the letter of the law, and when they were taken by the constituted authorities they were often cast into jail. It was not long before the prisons of Virginia were crowded with Separate Baptists, but no account has yet been supplied of a Regular Baptist minister who was confined on this account. These avoided the dangerous issue by procuring a license wherever it was required. Sympathy for the suffering Separate Baptists soon became very active and gained them multitudes of adherents. They rapidly outstripped the Regular Baptists in numbers, and led all the forces of Virginia in the long and stubborn struggle for religious freedom. In the year 1787, after they had won their battle in the commonwealth, the Regular body proposed a union with them. The proposition was accepted and after that date the two parties were long known as United Baptists. James Menees, Jr., was one of the earliest fathers and most influential promoters of the Separate Baptists of Virginia.

At his death in 1837 he had been for a period of nearly seventy years the leader of his family. The dignity of his bearing,

the serenity of his temper, the strength of his understanding, the breadth of his culture, the vigor of his initiative and the sanity of his judgment combined with a certain patriarchal simplicity to render him a beautiful and engaging figure. But it is not apparent to what extent his example in quitting the Presbyterians and joining the Baptists was applauded and imitated by his family. According to Doctor Howell, his father assumed an observant and waiting attitude; but it is likely that the members of his own household were from the outset in hearty accord with him. Probably the family of William Whitsitt were also favorably inclined during the Amherst period. If Benjamin Menees and his household ever united with the Baptists no proofs of the fact have come to my attention.

Though he has been dead for almost seventy years James Menees, Jr., is still a great force in his family, and those who know where to look for it may also find his hand among the Baptist people of Nashville. Likewise it will be apparent to all who rightly understand the current of events that he yet holds a fair and honorable position in the life and business of the State of Tennessee.

Revolutionary War.—Though the trial of Albemarle had been very great, the trial of Amherst was to be still greater. William Whitsitt was too far advanced in life and too much burdened by the cares of his family to take any active part in the toils of military defence. James Menees, Jr., was a younger man, having been born about the year 1741. However, he was the father of eight living children, all of them girls but one. His youngest child, Jane Cardwell Menees, was born on the 21st of January, 1776. It could hardly be expected that such a person should quit his home for any lengthy period of time. However, he was willing to do what lay in his power, and so he entered the army and fought at the battle of Guilford Courthouse, on the 15th of March, 1781. For that service he received a

season it was presented to Samuel and Elizabeth Ham, the latter being a daughter of Mr. Menees.

Slavery.—The ownership of slaves appears to have been introduced into the family by James Menees, Sr. On the 18th of December, 1778, he gave to Benjamin and to his daughter Elinor, after the decease of Benjamin, a negro boy named Caesar, and on the 20th of January, 1779, he loaned to James Menees, Jr., during his natural life a negro boy named Isaac, providing that after the death of James the boy should belong to Jane, the daughter of James. No slave was received by the Whitsitt family in this distribution apparently for the reason that William Whitsitt felt a prejudice against the institution.

A second distribution was begun in Pittsylvania County April 4, 1783, when James Menees, Sr., gave to his son Benjamin a negro fellow named Sam, and sixty pounds of hard money, with the proviso that after the death of Benjamin the negro should belong to his oldest son, James Menees. Benjamin must have had other sons besides James, but he and Elinor are the only children of that family whose names have yet come to my notice.

If William Whitsitt entertained a prejudice against the institution of slavery in the years 1778 and 1779 he had gotten over it by the year 1783, as will appear from the following entry in the records of Henry County:

To all people to whom these Presents shall come: James Menees send Greeting.

KNOW YE I the said James Menese, of the County of Pittsylvania and State of Virginia for and in consideration of the Love and Good & Affection I bear towards my Daughter Elenor Whitsitt of Henry County & the aforesaid state of Virginia, have given granted and by these presents do freely give and grant unto the said Elenor Whitsitt (at my Decease and my wife's) one negro woman named Beck to have and to hold the said Negroe to the said Elenor Whitsitt her heirs executors or administrators from henceforth as her and their property absolutely without any manner of condition. And further I give and bequeath unto my aforesaid Daughter Elenor Whitsitt at my Decease and my wife's fifty pounds specie and my desk to her the said Elenor Whitsitts her Heirs Exors. Admrs. or assigns and to no other intent or Purpose whatsoever. In Wit-

ness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and afixed my seal
this 12th day of Novr., 1783. JAMES MENEES, L.S.

Signed sealed and Delivered
in Presence of us :
JOSEPH ANTHONY,
JACOB FERRIS,
WILLIAM WHITSITT.

At a Court held for Henry County on the 27th day of May, 1784, the within Deed of Gift was acknowledged by the within named James Menees to be his act and Deed and the same was ordered to be recorded by the Court.

Teste: JOHN COX.

Perhaps William Whitsitt had persuaded himself that the negro woman Beck was not given to himself, but to his wife, and that he was not entitled to stand in the way of her rights and interests. James Menees, Jr., was present at Amherst Courthouse as a visitor from Nashborough on the Cumberland on the 7th of August, 1783, at which time he gave a power of attorney to John McDaniel that was witnessed by Ambrose Rucker and George McDaniel, both residents of Amherst. He might have obtained his share in this second distribution of slaves, but I have met with no record of the fact.

Close of the Amherst Period.—The first break was made by Benjamin Menees, who sold his farm of three hundred acres to William Whitsitt on the 1st of November, 1779. Whitsitt paid him £700, which seems to indicate the extent to which the currency of Virginia was deranged through the war. On the 1st of October, 1781, just eighteen days before the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, William Whitsitt in his turn disposed of his possessions, one hundred acres going to Charles Stewart for £60 in specie, and five hundred acres to Joseph Crews for £500 in Virginia currency. Next followed James Menees, Sr., who, on the 13th of February, 1782, sold the one hundred acres that remained in his hands to Benammi Stone for £160 "current money of Virginia in specie;" which seems, all things considered, to be the best sale that was made. Last of all came James Menees, Jr., who in the papers is described as James Menees, of Henry County, and on the 5th of August, 1782, sold one hundred and eighty-five acres to John McDaniel for £200, and one hundred

and fifteen acres to James Pendleton for £100, both sums being in current money of Virginia. Thus ended the second chapter in the experience of the Nashville Whitsitts on American soil.

List of Amherst Documents.—The following list of entries is found among the records at Amherst Courthouse:

1. September 5, 1763, John and Elizabeth Wade to William Whitsitt, 200 acres on the north fork of Davis' Creek, a branch of Rockfish River, for £40.

2. September 7, 1767, James Menees to William Whitsitt, 300 acres on the branches of Rutledge's Creek, for £30.

3. September 7, 1767, James Menees, Sr., to James Menees, Jr., 300 acres for 5 shillings.

4. September 7, 1767, James Menees to Benjamin Menees, 300 acres for 5 shillings. All three of the above are witnessed by David Woodroof and Isaac Wright.

5. September 7, 1767, Steven Ham to James Menees, 29 acres for 5 shillings.

6. September 7, 1767, James Menees to Steven Ham, 23 acres on a branch of Rutledge's Creek, for 5 shillings.

7. June 4, 1770, William Whiteside and Elliner, his wife, to William Martin, 200 acres on the North fork of Daveses Creek, a branch of Rockfish River, for £40. Witnesses: Joe Majann, Martin Dawson and James Menees. (Same farm as No. 1 above.)

8. July 15, 1775, Deed of Trust for £66 from Hugh Gilliland to James Menees, Jr. Witnesses: James Menees, Sr., Benjamin Menees and John Brown.

9. December 18, 1779, James Menees, Sr., Deed of Gift of Negro Caesar to Benjamin Menees, and to his daughter Elenor upon the death of Benjamin.

10. January 20, 1780, James Menees to James Menees, Jr., and after his death to his daughter Jane, Deed of Gift of negro fellow Isaac. Witnesses of both the above: Daniel Gaines, Josias Gilbert and Ambrose Rucker.

11. November 1, 1779, Benjamin Menees, of Pittsylvania County, to William Whitsitt, 300 acres for £700.

12. October 1, 1781, William Whitsitt to Charles Stewart,

100 acres for £60 in specie. Witnesses: Benammi Stone, Benjamin Rucker and Isaac Rucker.

13. October 1, 1781, William Whitsitt to Joseph Crews, 500 acres for £500. Witnesses: Benjamin Rucker, Isaac Rucker, Charles Stewart, John Turner and Benammi Stone.

14. October 6, 1783, Return of writ sent from Amherst to Abraham Penn and John Salmon, Gentlemen Justices of Henry County, to examine Elenor Whitsitt privily and apart from her husband touching her consent to the conveyance mentioned in the preceding number. It was forwarded August 7, 1783; executed by Penn and Salmon August 29, and returned to Amherst October 6.

15. February 13, 1782, James Menees, Sr., to Benammi Stone, 100 acres for £160 in specie. Witnesses: A. Rucker, John McDaniel, W. Pollard, Joseph Crews and John Stewart.

16. August 5, 1782, James Menees, of Henry County, to John McDaniel, 185 acres for £200.

17. August 5, 1782, James Menees, of Henry County, to James Pendleton, 115 acres for £100.

18. August 7, 1783, Power of Attorney from James Menees, of Nashborough, on the Cumberland, to John McDaniel. Witnesses: Ambrose Rucker and George McDaniel.

(To be continued.)

DUNLAP-JACKSON CORRESPONDENCE.

DUNLAP TO JACKSON.

LEA SPRINGS, TENNESSEE, June 30th, 1831.

DEAR SIR: This week affords me leisure from our courts and our elections to visit these valuable springs. My health is feeble & has been for this season.

This gives me a favorable opportunity to give you some plain hints.

Seated at the head of power, but few will say anything to you calculated to have any other effect but to please your pride or feed your vanity. All men have both.

My motive for first and last wishing you at the head of our great & happy nation, was that I believed you to be the best instrument to correct the growing evils & to bring back to first principles the wandering action of the Federal government. As this is and was my motive, I feel a deep solicitude in preserving unimpaired the whole usefulness of your publick station, which is the most honorable & responsible within the range of human power.

Mr Eaton leaves the War Dept. by the common consent and wish of all parties—while the nation may admire the firm friendship by you manifested for Mr Eaton, they can not but rejoice at the hope of his retirement. Mr W. B. Lewis, almost too small to write about, occupies a position before the nation alone from his presumed and assumed intimacy with you, which merits a little attention. Send him home and no longer hold yourself accountable to a free and enlightened people for the arrogant follies of such a small but busy man as he is.

His only importance is that by his hinting impudence, when out of your presence, of being in the Prst's confidence, he assumes the mask of an adviser. This holds you responsible for his silly conduct.

To speak plain, the opinion prevails at large that W. B. Lewis is one of your most confidential councillors. This fact does, whether it be true or false, seriously affect the public, it raises

a suspicion of your fitness to rule ; it paralyzes every noble feeling of your friends, when it is said Billy Lewis is your Prests. councillor. As I have as little to ask as any other of your friends, I write this letter, which I know speaks the voice of Tennessee, as well as of every fragment of any party in this union. Your connection with Messrs. E & L have injured you more in publick opinion, than all the acts of your friends & enemies combined.

The nation looked not to these feeble ministers for aid in directing the glorious destiny of the American people—when by the noblest feelings of patriotism they rallied on you to sustain the brightening prosperity of their country. The nation will be pleased to learn that Mr VanBuren will go to England, this will quiet the fears of conflicting aspirants and give the country some peace.

If Judge White's daughter, Mrs. Alexander, should change her situation as it is more than probable that she will, I am induced to believe that he would accept the War Dept., as it is urged on him by public feeling as well as by your wishes. I am satisfied that he would not like to take any step that would have an unhappy effect on our elections. If he were to accept during the canvass, it would no doubt have some influence on the elections, as the claims of aspirants for his place would be before the people—and our people are peculiar and not like any other.

For one, I believe it is important to your administration to have Judge White in the War Dept. It will silence the rumors that you have discarded your old friends and sought counsel amongst your new converts.

It will do still more for the country. The dignity of White's character, blended with talents and integrity acknowledged by all parties, will give strength and confidence to his opinions and official acts.

magnificence, that enabled him to command the whole energies of the nation to a preparation for war after the war was over and thus beguiled republicans from republican duties.

I understood that Governor Floyd wrote to a certain gentleman in E. Tenn., urging him and the Clay people to drop Mr Clay and take up Mr. Calhoun. I did not hear the effect of the letter. A highly respectable gentleman of Charleston (Mr. H. W. Conner) wrote me a few weeks since that the nullifiers had determined to run Mr Calhoun for the Pres'y. He thinks it would be a hard battle in S C, but believes that the victory would be awarded to Tennessee's chief.

The union of the American system and nullification, if Mr Calhoun be a nullifier, will almost be a demonstration of the old maxim that two extremes very nearly approach each other. This will certainly require a yankee patent to make them stick, unless it be that two absurdities have an affinity for each other.

Unless usurpation be put down by the weight & influence of your administration, we may bid farewell to the lawful and peaceful action of the govt. Hence it becomes indispensable to have all the influence that can be arrayed ready for action. I received a letter a few days since from our friend Maj. (Jesse) Egnew of New Orleans, in which he writes that Mr Clay spent the winter in the City & that he was not invited to eat or speak. The *correspondence* troubled the Clay men but at last they said, Old Hickory before Calhoun.

I would open emigration to the Arkansas next fall for the Cherokees. They will not treat yet—Their subject will go and thus drain the nation.

Your friend,

To Prest. Jackson, Washington City. R. G. DUNLAP.

JACKSON TO DUNLAP.

(Address)

Andrew Jackson

Free

Stamp mark.

Genl. R. G. Dunlap, attorney at Law, Knoxville, Tennessee.

(Letter)

private

WASHINGTON, July 18th, 1831.

MY DE SIR: I have just received your letter of the 30th ult. and snatch a moment from publick duty to reply to it.

I am happy to learn that your health is improving, whilst I regret to hear that it has been feeble; if my good wishes for your vigorous health will give it, I send them with great sincerity.

As I have but a moment to write, you will excuse my brevity on the various points of your letter.

Whilst it is pleasing to hear that the reorganisation of my Cabinet meets with the approbation of Tennessee, as well as the whole union, I cannot omit a passing notice on your remarks as it respects Major Eaton—it is this—Major Eaton leaves the War Dept. by the consent “of all parties.” In this you are badly informed, he leaves it with the great regret of a large majority of the army and citizens of this place, who, without regard to politics, tendered him a dinner which he declined. This was not offered to any other of the resigned Cabinet.

Great regret has been expressed by many of the citizens of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio & Indiana, to which you may add my own—whilst all approve the high honorable feelings that gave rise to Mr VanBuren’s and Major Eaton’s resignations, when they found harmony in the Cabinet could not be maintained.

I fear my friend you have been reading, and giving too much credence to the slang of Genl Duff Greens, and other opposition papers, to be correctly informed as to facts here—the plan of Duff Green & Co are to slander, and if they could, drive from me every honest man in whom I ought to have confidence—and it is now well known here that if Major Eaton could have been made the supple tool of Mr Calhoun, and become the enemy of Mr. VanBuren, without cause, he with Major Lewis, would have been ranked with the first and best men of our country; they, however, were too honest to be bought, and too virtuous to do injustice to Mr VanBuren, who, permit me to say, has more honesty and candor, talent and frankness than a hun-

done, I will give you some facts—but before I do, one passing word as to Major Lewis, and first I must sincerely regret the language used with regard to him, without pointing to some fact that would justify it—I have seen such slang in opposition papers, I have heard it from Mr Calhouns tools in Nashville, but coming from Genl Dunlap, without detailing some facts that would justify it, has really astonished me—I have known him long, I have known him well—he is honest, & faithful, as far as I know and believe, and attends to his own, without interfering with others business—you must surely have been taking the slang of Duff Green, the Philadelphia Continent (?), & the City Journal for your proof, without looking to the positive refutation of the whole, in the Globe, & Philadelphia Enquirer: if I am right in this then you might as well believe all that Arnold says about Judge White & Mr Lea and I am sure you do not believe one word of Arnolds slander—the others are as foul—for I assure you, of my own knowledge, I do know several instances wherein Genl Duff Green has wilfully stated falsehoods.

But suppose I was to “send Major Lewis home;” do you think this would appease my political, unprincipled enemies; no, no, I must send home Major Barry, Col Campbell, Mr Kendall and every other friend of mine that will not become the pliant, & supple tool of Mr Calhoun, and the open enemy of the unoffending VanBuren, who it is pleasing to Duff Green to decry as a plotter, without proof, and who is as innocent of the plots charged, as you are—Genl Dunlap could not ask me to bend to such humility—and if he was, I assure him, I never part with well tried friends, to gratify my enemies, or for new ones.

Therefore, for the present will neither part with Barry, Campbell, Smith, Kendall or Major Lewis—when any of them departs from the paths of honesty, propriety, or truth, & it is made manifest to me, I will “*send them home*” not before—Many of my real friends under a great delusion have done me more injury than all my enemies could do, and many who have professed friendship (Calhoun like), under the mask of friendship

Eaton, so necessary to me, when Judge White declined, all was wrong; & where was there a man who had laboured so much and burnt the midnight taper so often as he did in my behalf. Such a friend as Major Eaton is hard to find, & is worthy to be hugged to the bosom as a pearl beyond price—I have & will so cherish him. The extracts of sundry letters, being a correspondence between Mr Calhoun & a gentleman in West Tennessee, explains all this matter—too much credence are given to the slang of Duff Green & his coadjutors in the opposition with regard to my friends—if the Globe was read it would shew all these tales put down, by positive denials and proof—Clerks have been engaged here, who has written to Nashville some of the most positive falsehoods that ever has been told (?), by the most depraved of the opposition, they are just discovered, & some of them will “go home” *soon*; one fact is now well ascertained, that Duff Green nor Mr Calhoun never supported me—They opposed Mr Adams under my name to put him down, and now wish to put me down to open the way to the Presidency for Mr Calhoun—Mr Calhoun first tried to crush me by his secret move in the Cabinet—He prostrated Crawford, and now wishes to crush Mr VanBuren, lest he may be in his way hereafter, & will unite with Mr Clay, or any other, to effect his views—as to myself, I leave these things to the people, they have the right to select their agents, and I hope ever will exercise it—and if they prefer another, I am sure I will be satisfied with my *sweet retirement* at the Hermitage, which I was dragged from, contrary to my wishes, and now am complained of, because I selected a few well tried friends around me and will not abandon these for newcomers, to gratify one of the most wicked depraved conspiracies that ever disgraced any Christian country. I would loathe myself, if any earthly influence could bend me to so vile a purpose.

It is well known the high confidence I once had in Mr Calhoun—I was taught to believe him a high minded and honorable man, capable of friendship, free from duplicity, or false-

journals, that there had been a cabinet council held which had decided on the subject of my arrest, for transcending my orders in Florida, I could not believe that Mr Calhoun was approving such a movement.

The Nashville paper ascribed it to Mr Crawford and that Mr Calhoun was my shield and support against this movement for my destruction; because I knew, that Mr Calhoun & Mr Monroe, could not think so, because my public orders were a chart blank, and my confidential letter had been read, my views fully made known, and Mr Rhea instructed to write me, that my views were fully approbated—I therefore believed Mr Crawford was the secret agent of my destruction—for how could that Mr Calhoun, who had said to Govr Bibb, “that I had orders to carry on the war as I pleased” who had read the confidential letter, had approved it, and said to Mr. Monroe it required his answer, who knew that Mr J Rhea had been instructed & had answered it, who, in all his letters and those of confidential friends, had breathed their full approbation of my conduct, I say after all this, how could I suppose that Mr Calhoun was this secrete person, who had endeavoured to destroy my reputation by his movement in the secrete cabinet council where he believed his acts never could become public & who had laid it upon another—it is true, in 1824-5, Mr Rankin (?), member of congress, did tell me, Mr Calhoun and not Mr Crawford, had made this movement against me—I did not, nay I could not believe he could be so base, nor did I when I sent him Mr Crawford’s statement, believe it, until I received his acknowledgement under the sanction of his name, in his reply to my note alluded to—you may ask me why I was so incredulous—I will tell you—You have read the correspondence, you have seen in it published my confidential letter to Mr Monroe in which Mr J Rhea is referred to, as a confidential friend thro whom the wishes of the Executive could be communicated & in sixty days I would carry into effect these wishes of the Executive—you have seen that Mr Calhoun read that letter, drew Mr Monroes attention to it and said, he must approve it. I have now to tell you that

to Ft. Scott. Mr Calhoun knew that this letter was answered by Mr. Rhea, and that I had complied with the public orders and confidential wishes to a tittle—he knew I had not, nay could not transcend my orders, and how could I believe that any man, however depraved, could act as it had been stated Mr Calhoun had, by secretly moving my arrest or punishment—I was mistaken—he was the mover—and I now ask you, if a man thus depraved, who could move my arrest & punishment, and publicly hold forth to me his friendship and support, what is it he would not do, to prostrate those he might conceive to be in his way to his views of ambition. Think ye, he would not sever the union rather than not reach the point of his ambition—think ye, would not such a man rather rule in the lower regions than serve in heaven. His intrigue did not stop here—when I was in this city in 1819, attending to the Seminole campaign, Mr. Rhea was sent, to request me, to burn this letter. Having full confidence in all I agreed, that as soon as I got home I would burn it. I did so burn it. Mr. Calhoun knowing this, when I furnished him with Mr. Crawfords statement, he acknowledged his guilt & adds insult to injury, by urging that I did transcend my orders. Providence has permitted Mr Rhea still to live, and one month before Mr Monroes death, he wrote him fully, stating all the facts I have mentioned, a copy of which I hold, with Judge Overtons statement of the contents of Mr Rheas letter, which was confidently submitted to him with others when he wrote the defense “of the Executive & the Commanding General,” in the Seminole war.

Therefore, a man who can thus act, can subsidize presses, and procure slanderers to villify me, & all friends who are near me, who will not fall down & worship him. I therefore have to request, that you will state one instance, wherein Major Lewis has improperly interfered in any matter either public or pri-

presses at five dollars a week to pick up all slander of the most base and vulgar kind, & communicate it by letter, one of these papers in New York assumes the character of a religious press. I ask what chance has innocence & virtue under such a system of morals, there is no safety for any one—and let me ask you, is not he that pirates (?) on private character worse than the pirate on the high seas, and ought not every one who sets value on character to put his face against the villains that practice it—rumor, recollect, has a hundred tongues & every tongue a thousand lies and if such a system of morals is adopted that rumor is to destroy character, then will a virtuous and moral course of life, be no protection to the vile traducer, who can for a dollar set rumor afloat which will destroy the character of father, mother, sister & daughter.

I trust Genl Dunlap will not subscribe to such a dangerous system of morals—all, in the eye of the law, are viewed innocent, until proved guilty.

I sincerely regret that the multiplied bereavements of my friend, Judge White, has prevented me from his able aid in the Dept of War—all my influence was exerted but has failed—and I have appointed Governor Cass to fill that Dept. I trust my present Cabinet will harmonise—it *must* I cannot permit such scenes as Mr Monroe suffered in his.

One word & I must close—you may rest assured that all the arts of Mr Calhoun & his satellites cannot coerce me to send (?) my old and well tried friends without cause, to gratify my enemies, and Tennessee was the last place in this union, that I expected a combination to injure me & promote the views of my most vindictive enemies—it is now clear that the vile attempt against Eaton was not to injure him, but me, through him.

No objections were taken to others, which on the score of rumor as much had been said as against him, still when he has resigned, it is kept up to injure me, be it so, they have fell in the pit they dug for Eaton & myself. Inghram is prostrate, whilst Eaton lives in the heart of his country, & when his traducers are buried in forgetfulness, his name will be hailed

by the good & great as one of the best & most virtuous patriots of his day.

I shall expect to hear from you on receipt of this, & hope you will pardon the haste in which it has been written, and any imperfections it may have and ascribe it to haste. Remember this is not for the public it is for you.

Your friend,

ANDREW JACKSON.

Genl. R. Dunlap.

P. S.—Preserve this, I keep no copy as it is to a friend.

A. J.

P. S.—It would have been a source of great consolation to me to have had Judge White in the Dept. of war, my whole influence was used to effect this object, it failed from the situation of his family.

In Major Eaton I have had a faithful and confidential friend—had it not have been for the intrigues of Calhoun, & part of my Cabinet falling into his views, & aiding him in operating on the Senate to defeat my nominations, such as Hill &c, & prevent those national measures I had recommended from being acted upon, thereby to lessen my standing in the nation, I would have had a harmonious and successful administration. I will still have it.

Who is it that are making the serious charges that I have discarded my old friends—who are they I have parted with. I would like to hear their names. It can not be possible that Calhoun is meant as one of my old friends. I thought him so, but his own declarations shews that he was lukewarm between Mr Adams & me—and his secrete attempts against me in the Executive Cabinet shews that altho he was my open professed friend, he was my secrete and deadly enemy. Was it meant any of my Cabinet that have advised. There were but two that

No country holds men of purer patriotism, or talents of higher order—particularly VanBuren & Barry, and Major Eaton is one of the best men with talents far above what his enemies, or many of his friends would yield him, his talents are far above mediocrity—and I repeat, he is one of the best men on Earth, excelled by none in the purity of his morales.

You have seen the *disgraceful flight of Ingham*. The Scripture says, "The wicked flee, when no one pursueth." He is perfectly prostrated in his own state—and the various reports in the several states will shew you, the standing of Major Eaton—his has increased, whilst Ingham has fallen, never to rise again—the fate of all slanderers.

A. J.

N. B.—You say if Mr Calhoun is a nullifier, &c &c. I have positive proof of that fact, that he is & I have this day received a letter from a high source in So. Carolina, that he is secretly encouraging hostilities to the republic "which in their character are not less unnatural than destructive to the union of these states, it is high time to direct (says the writer) the attention of the chief magistrate to this novel and dangerous state of things." This is the conduct of the 2nd officer of this happy country, that he is endeavouring to plunge into a civil war, by his secrete admonitions & contrivance. If true, I will meet the crisis firmly. Mark me, I never state any thing not founded on proof.

DUNLAP TO JACKSON.

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, August 10, 1831.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 18th of July reached me on the eve of our elections—my engagements forbade me to take time to answer sooner.

It now gives me pleasure to write in full and in so doing, I frankly confess that the kind feelings of your heart, so generously & openly avowed for your friends, which are characteristic of the whole tenor of your life, merits and calls up all my admiration for such noble friendship. Yes, this display of inflexible kindness almost disarms my objections to the continuance in office of the people alluded to—and were I to consult my own heart alone, and not your usefulness to my country,

I would not murmur longer, but cherish the indulgence of your fidelity to friends that holds them around you.

I presume Major Eaton is a gentleman with a good heart and much better attainments and talent than his friends generally award him.

But publick opinion seemed to rise in judgment against his continuance in the War department, and this was the reason I supposed he retired by the *consent of all parties*. Major Eaton may not have merited the invitation, nor shall I pretend he did—but as the ruler of a free people I believe it to be better for you to obey the publick voice and have men around you, who could and would not only discharge the several duties of the different departments but at the same time strengthen by their relation to the country, the hopes of every patriot.

Fitness for responsible station, with capacity to act out all encumbent duties, are not the only requisites in popular governments—the publick must have confidence to ensure that support so essential to any administration. I wish Major Eaton all the joy and happiness that fall to the lot of any man. I am for my country and not against him.

As for Major Lewis, I am well advised that his connection with you does and will affect you in Tennessee, whether it be true or false (for one I do not believe that he has the influence attributed to him) the consequences are the same in publick opinion, and it is due to your own fame, to your friends and country, to dispell the suspicions of the times. Mr. Lewis is too feeble a man to have this station before the American people, suppose his heart to be as pure as an Angel. His friendship for you none will doubt. His supposed influence in elections, all must, to say the least, doubt. This is the publick opinion that prevails that Major Lewis is your confidential friend & the fact that he lives with you, gives countenance to the charge that what he does is by your advice. You can readily, my dear sir, see the awful effect of such suspicions, no less than a desire on the part of the executive to control the elective franchise. No man in the nation, I am satisfied, would denounce and abhor such interference more than yourself.

I will quit this unpleasant theme with the assurance that my

confidence is not the least impaired in your unwavering patriotism, or in the final result of the publick usefulness of your administration. Yet, sir, these little matters have had their effect & I fear beat Mr Lea by a second Benedict.

I thank you for submitting to me new evidence in your unfortunate difficulty with Mr Calhoun, I say unfortunate, as it was so at least in point of time. Mr Rhea's letter will certainly vindicate you as acting under the orders and wishes of the government in the Seminole campaign of 1818, to suppose any other was required than the force of your discretionary orders. When I joined your army in Florida & at the time I reported to you, after the usual civilities, you said to me, that you would furnish me with a copy of your orders—which would shew that you were justified in entering neutral territory in fresh pursuit of an enemy who obtained protection there, by the discretionary orders and wishes of your government—this was after the taking Fort Gadden (?). I replied that I was satisfied to obey my Genl., believing that he knew his duty. You said: Yes, sir, but I want all my officers to be satisfied that what I have done in Florida was done by the directions of my government—you said the government wished you to take such a course as would bring the war to speedy termination, and that nothing less than wresting the Spanish forts from the Indians would enable you to do so, as the Indians were sheltered and protected by these forts. These are facts that I can not forget & none can doubt who shared the privations of that campaign, that the Indians did receive aid & succor from the Spanish forts.

Yet, my dear sir, with all the justification that the enlightened judgment of your country has long since passed upon these transactions, I would not stir them any more, let them sleep.

However desirable it was to explain any misunderstanding between you and Mr Crawford and unite personal feeling with political principles, still you can not be a stranger to the fact that Mr Crawford loved none less than he did Mr Calhoun. He, in opening the facts of Mr Monroes Cabinet council to

None can doubt but that the explosion of your cabinet, with the precursor, the correspondence with Mr Calhoun, will bring new & spirited adversaries in the field against you. How to meet them can be better ascertained by searching out the true cause which first agitated the harmony of your own household and friends.

As I was a member of your suite in 1828 to celebrate the anniversary of the victory of New Orleans, I have an opinion. While passing down the river, Major Lewis's mind seemed to be filled with suspicions about impending and projected injuries awaiting your fate. He was as usual busy and apparently kind to you. I believed either that he was alarmed at the phantoms of his own fancy of that he desired to ingratiate himself deep in your favor, by his officious acts toward your election.

Major Hamilton mentioned to me after we left Natchez that he designed to return to New York through the Southern states—that he wished to visit that country & at the same time, believed that he could conciliate Mr Crawford toward Genl Jackson, which would have a very happy effect on the Crawford party and particularly in New York. I replied, that however desirable it was to explain personal misunderstandings and unite personal feelings with political predilections, that I entertained a better opinion of the Crawford party than to think that they could be turned by a nod or smile from their leader—that they were pledged by principle and political consistency to unite against the latitudinous doctrines avowed by Mr. Adams in his first message to the Congress of the United States.

He seemed to acquiesce in the propriety of my remarks but said that leaders of parties always had influence with them. He then stated that it was believed that Genl Jackson was to be assailed either by Mr Adams or Mr Monroe in relation to the affairs of the Seminole war in Florida, and that some of the Genl's

son's conduct in Florida—that I believed he viewed it as the nation did, as one of the happiest incidents in his life.

And as for Mr Monroe, I said, "my dear sir, can any one be so reckless of his own fame as to sully one of the brightest acts of his administration, for such Mr Monroe believed Genl. Jackson's conduct in Florida, with its consequences to be the cession of that country by Spain. Mr Hamilton remarked, as strange as it may seem, there was no calculation to be made about high party conflicts & then intimated a doubt of Mr. Calhoun's fidelity to you. I remarked that I cared not whether Mr Calhoun hates or loves Genl Jackson, if he would only act for his country, as I believed he and his friends were doing & that I hoped never to see the day when the support or opposition to any man or administration would be based on personal feelings, that the principles of our government placed the political action of our people on higher grounds. To speak candidly, I felt a contempt which I had tried to suppress for several days for the conduct of some of your suite, whom I believed, were feeding your fears and passions with a view exclusively to fasten themselves on your kindness.

I immediately informed Col Martin and Genl Smith, two of your suite, of my contempt for the servility and sycophancy of part of your suite & that I intended to quit the company. Genl Smith, Col Martin & myself agreed to take separate lodgings in the city but to appear with you in public.

Governor Houston heard of this determination, so did Doctor Shelby and by this argument prevailed on us to remain, to prevent the rumor that your suite had quarrelled. I told Doctor Shelby that I was annoyed at the meddling of such busy little men, who deserved not the rank of your advisers & who were doing more harm than good, even on the supposition that their motives were good. Mr. Calhoun's fidelity to you was alluded to before we left Nashville as being questionable and after what subsequently happened, Mr Calhoun refusing to associate his family with Major Eaton's, it was easy to discover the means in Mr E. power to annoy him, suppose Mr Crawford's evidence was desired for other objects in the first place; & this was, I believe, the clue to the whole difficulty in your cabinet & with

Mr Calhoun, without stopping to justify Mr Calhoun's motives to you in the Cabinet council.

You say you have evidence that Mr Calhoun is a nullifier—be it so—I suppose he is, if the report of the conduct of the South Carolina legislature be correct in relation to this subject. Yet would it not be better to leave this to the nation than for you or your friends to interfere, not with the question, but with the advocates. You had & the country had & I hope now has some of the best friends misled by an honest zeal on this subject & would it not be better to win them back by honorable means than to press them to the wall. It is conjectured that an attempt will be made in our legislature to affect Mr Calhoun in your nomination. I shall deem this not only arrogant but malignant in Tennessee, should it succeed, still I believe it can not. We should let other states make the Vice-President and be willing to act in harmony with the great body of the Republican party.

Virginia and East Tennessee held a convention at Abingdon on the 25th instant on the subject of connecting the waters of the James River with the Holston by railroads; I expect to attend. This work is expected to be done by Chartered Companies in which the States may take stock—and this is the only mode to check the growing rage for internal improvements by the Federal power. The people are awake to the high utility of such improvements and will act, either through the State or the National government.

You will please pardon the carelessness and haste with which I write, as well as the freedom of my opinions.

I am very respectfully,
your friend,
R. G. DUNLAP.

Andrew Jackson, Prest U States, Washington City.

JACKSON TO DUNLAP.

(Address). General R. G. Dunlap, Knoxville, Tenn.

(Letter). WASHINGTON, August 29, 1831.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 10th instant is just recd., and perceiving that you are in error, as I presume for the want of

correct information on two points, I am induced, notwithstanding the press of business with which I am surrounded, to give you a reply. I thank you for the expression of your "admiration for such noble friendship" as you are pleased to assert has characterised my conduct towards my friends. But when you accord to me the justice of preserving "fidelity to friends," and applaud me for it, I must confess that I am somewhat surprised, on the expression of the intimation that I should attempt to "dispell the suspicions of the times" by driving from me individuals who have been sincere in their friendship for me, and by whom, I have never been deceived. I however, indulge in the hope, that when correctly advised of facts, your opinions and consequently your wishes on this subject, will be changed. The connection which exists between Major Lewis & myself, when truly understood, can do no injury with true friends, and you are sufficiently acquainted with my character to know that I am always regardless of my enemies.

Every term of the Presidency, there are \$14,000 appropriated by Congress for the renewal, and repairs of furniture for the Presidents House. An honest and faithful agent is necessary to disburse this money, and having full confidence in Major Lewis, I have constituted him this agent. If I had not him, to whom else could I entrust it? My son is too young, and, if he were not, it would be improper that he or any of my connections, should have the agency. Major Lewis, I know to be honest, faithful and true to me, and therefore it is, my enemies abuse him, and complain that I have him near me. Why were these complaints not made before I left the Hermitage, where he was for fifteen or twenty years an intimate in my house, had at pleasure the perusal of my papers, and enjoyed my full confidence? And shall I now, after the efficient services he has rendered, drive him from me because his enemies slander, and abuse him? It would be but a short time, if I was to persue this course, before I should have to seperate myself from all my friends? It is then, my dear sir, not the best evidence of friendship which can be given, to insist on the adoption of such a course.

I have been, for sometime aware of the fact, that Ingham, Berrien, Branch, Duff Green & Co.—the agents of Calhoun—

have been secretly at work with their note books &c &c, to prejudice Major Lewis in the estimation of the public, and my friends. I had supposed that my true friends would, be on their guard, and not adopt the sentiments & slang of these men, without giving some attention to the facts that stand opposed to all their operations; and it pains me to learn that the conduct of some, who have long professed to cherish the strongest attachment for me, shews that they have too willingly imbibed the opinions of my enemies. You correctly suppose that there is "no man" in this union would sooner denounce any interference, on the part of the Executive, with state elections, than myself; but injustice is done to truth, when it is supposed that I, by the conduct of Major Lewis, have evinced the least desire to control the elections. Major Lewis has positively denied any interference with state elections, since he has been here, and in the absence of proof to support the allegations against him, would it not be unjust, ungrateful in me to determine him guilty? If any proof exists against him, the rancour with which the feelings of his enemies have been characterised, induces the positive conclusion that they would long since have adduced it. I have too long felt the injustice done by the slander of enemies to give a believing ear to the mere assertions of the enemies of any individual. I confidently believe that the suspicions, which you say exist as to Major Lewis interfering in elections, are as groundless as Calhouns plots against VanBuren (of which VanBuren is as innocent as a babe) and are entirely imaginary. But I will close this subject with the remark that if I am to drive away and discard my friends without cause, to obtain popularity, I will not have it on such terms, and would despise myself if I thought, or even suspected, that I was capable of purchasing it by such dishonorable means. But I must ask, where is the patriot, that I have near, or around me, who is not made the target for the vilest slander and detraction? and when that upright man and incorruptible patriot—H. L. White—has been made the subject of the vilest charges by the perfidious Arnold (and others)

not only be unjust, as I have before intimated, but a dangerous system to abandon friends, without sufficient cause, merely because they become the object of abuse by our enemies.

The other point which I propose noticing has reference to the relations which existed between Mr Calhoun, Mr Crawford and myself, and some suspicions which you inform me, you entertained in respect to "the conduct of (my) suite" to New Orleans in 1828. Every who has known me, knows full well the high regard I *once* entertained for Mr Calhoun. Mr Crawford was my political enemy, and Mr Calhoun and he, at the time of the Seminole campaign, and long after the decision of the subject which grew out of it, were bosom friends, and so remained up to 1821 or 1822.

I had frequent, full, and free conversations with Mr Calhoun on the subject of the Seminole campaign, and denounced Mr Crawford for the course which I understood he was pursuing against me in the Cabinet. Ought not Mr Calhoun to have frankly told me, that he was not, as I supposed him, my advocate in the secrete cabinet council, and that I did injustice to his friend, Mr Crawford, in respect to his conduct, on that occasion? It does seem to me that an high minded and honorable man would have done so.

Mr Calhoun at all times and on all occasions, so far as I was *then* advised, professed to be my uniform and stedfast friend, and throughout the canvass for President, was regarded as my undeviating friend, and not until he shew to the contrary, in his correspondence with me, which he choose to publish, was the sincerety of his professions ever questioned by me, nor did I even suspect that any of my friends indulged in the slightest suspicion that he was not *sincerely* the warm and decided advocate of my election. I am perfectly confident that Major Lewis never did hold the least suspicion of Mr Calhouns duplicity to me, until late in 1829. You say "none can doubt but that the explosion of my Cabinet with its precursor, *the correspondence* with Mr Calhoun, will bring new and spirited adversaries in the field against" me; and that "how to meet them can be better ascertained by searching out the true cause which first agitated the harmony," &c &c. I have the pleasure to inform you, on this

subject, that the task you recommend has already been performed, and you will find the result of my labours in the reorganization of my Cabinet proper. I am now relieved from an intercourse with Ingham, Branch & Berrien, who have shown that they were unworthy of the confidence reposed in them, and regarded the interest of a certain aspirant to the Presidency more than they consulted the harmony of my Cabinet, and the consequent prosperity of my administration, and the country. By the change I have secured the service of those who are competent and true, and it affords me pleasure to learn that my fellow citizens approbate the course which their best interests imperiously demanded at my hands. You remark that "while passing down the river (Mississippi) Major Lewis' mind seemed to be filled with suspicions about impending and projected injuries awaiting (my) fate" and "that he was as usual busy and apparently kind to" me, and that you "believed either that he was alarmed at phantoms of his own fancy, or that he desired to ingratiate himself deep in (my) favor by his officious airs towards (my) election." I must confess that I am not a little surprised to find that you thus "believed" & am willing to suppose that, if you had been aware of the character of the intercourse with Major Lewis, and the then attending circumstances, that you would not have been the subject of such suspicions I would suppose from the tenor of your letter that you have forgotten the nature of the correspondence between Mr Monroe and my friend Judge White in respect to a speech delivered by the latter in reply to a toast in honor of me, given, by a company, on the 8th of January 1827 in this city. If you did not then I now inform you that this correspondence was commenced by Mr Monroe, and that he and Southard had threatened to write a Book. It was charged, or rather asserted, that the controversy growing out of the Seminole war was again to be agitated, that my violation of the constitution & my orders was plainly to be shewn, and indeed, that I had deserted my post, left the army, and was returning home, and would not have saved New Orleans, but that Mr Monroe had met me with a peremptory order to return. It was thus threatened attack, not by Mr Adams, but by Mr Monroe to Judge White, and by Mr Southard through the public journals, which Major Lewis & Col Hamilton, I suppose, were preparing to meet.

...

to obtain all the facts necessary to my defence—he was one of my most efficient friends in collecting information and preparing documents for the Nashville committee in my defence.

Now my dear sir, as light as you have made of this matter, Mr Monroe did intend to write (as Mr Calhoun has done) a Book. If the impression could have been made that Mr Monroe, in order to save New Orleans, had to order me to retrace my steps after I had started home &c &c, it would have added greatly to his reputation. Notwithstanding Mr Monroe knew that Mr Rhea's letter to me was burned, he perceived from my letter to Mr Southard that I was prepared at every point, and therefore the project of the Book was abandoned. You seem to have forgotten that Mr Monroe had charged me with transcending my orders—we were at issue on this point, notwithstanding he approved my conduct, as he professed, on a knowledge of the circumstances which attended it.

You say that Mr Calhoun's fidelity to (me) was alluded to before we left Nashville as being "questionable." This is new to me, and I have said enough already to satisfy you on this subject, and will only add that, as early as 1824:25, I was informed on high authority that it was Mr Calhoun and not Crawford who had moved my arrest. Because of the circumstances to which I have alluded in connection with others not necessary to mention, I did not, nay could not, give credence to the information unless I had come to the conclusion that he was one of the most depraved—I could not believe that any man, possessing the standing he then held in society, could be so depraved as to practice such duplicity. Aside from his repeated assurances of friendship, I knew that he had not only issued my orders; but had so explained them himself as could leave no doubt of my correct interpretation of them, and, therefore, could not suppose that he would secretly attempt to destroy me for acting in obedience to my orders, and accomplishing the wishes of Mr Monroe and himself as confidentially expressed to me thro' Mr Rhea. I regard the sentiments contained in Mr. Rhea's letter as expressive of Mr Calhoun's wishes as well as those of Mr Monroe, because, Mr C, as I believe, was well advised in respect to the confidential letter which Mr Rhea wrote me under the directions of Mr Monroe. I am truly astonished at the contempt you now express for "the conduct of several of my suite" on my tour to New Orleans—according to my recollection, I had but Major Lewis and Mr Earle, who were especially invited to take charge of my family,—circumstance which would, in my opinion, have rendered any "officious airs towards (my) election" by Major Lewis, unnecessary, in order "to ingratiate himself,"

if, he had wished it "in my favor;" Governor Houston & staff (consisting of yourself, Genl Smith, & Col Martin, as I understood) Judge Overton, Doctor Shelby & Major Donelson. I am sure that I perceived nothing to which I should take exceptions in the conduct of any of my "suite," or Col Hamilton, who was not one of it but acted in a higher sphere, being one of the representatives chosen by the Republicans of New York, to meet, and congratulate me on the plains of New Orleans on the 8th of January. I discovered no attempt on the part of any of my suite, or Col Hamilton, to obtrude upon me. With them or Col Hamilton I had but little or no conversation on the subject of politics from the time we embarked untill we returned—I have no recollection of having had any conversation on the subject of Mr Monroes Book during the trip, nor at any time on that subject with Col Hamilton—he was for the first time introduced to me at the Hermitage a few days before we set out, and I had no secrete conversation with him on any subject, and I assure you that the matters you now detail, were unknown to me. Neither of these gentlemen attempted to arouse my fears on the subject of my election, *either then or at any other time* and you judge very incorrectly of me, if you suppose that my fears can be aroused on any occasion & particularly on the subject of the Presidency, for you, as well as all my friends know, that I am here, not by my own wishes, but the will and wishes of the people—The Hermitage is my choice. I am, however, at all times prepared to defend myself or friends when unjustly assailed—and I assure you that you have done great injustice to my suit on that occasion in ascribing to them the acts & motives which you have. I have written in my usual frankness and hope that the facts developed will convince you of your error. I have not time to notice the other parts of your letter. I thank you for the assurance "that your confidence is not in the least impaired in my unwavering patriotism or the final result of the public usefulness of my administration" and beg you to accept my best wishes for your health and happiness.

ANDREW JACKSON.

Genl R. G. Dunlap.

P. S.—It seems strange that my friends in Tennessee should



William Robertson Garrett, A.M., Ph.D.
Founder of the American Historical Magazine.

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WILLIAM ROBERTSON GARRETT, A.M., PH.D.

Founder of the American Historical Magazine.

BY ALBERT V. GOODPASTURE.

The sudden death of Captain W. R. Garrett, on the afternoon of February 12, 1904, removes a prominent figure from the literary and educational work of the South. At the time of his death he was in the midst of his most important historical work, a history of the Civil War from a Southern standpoint. He had peculiar qualifications for the work, which his broad mind, sound judgment and discriminating research could not have failed to illuminate. He had also undertaken to edit an important biographical work. His death at this time is a distinctive loss to the South, and to the whole country.

He was a typical Virginia gentleman of the old school. Born in a colonial mansion that had been the home of his family for three generations, in the ancient capital of the Old Dominion; and reared in the classic precincts of its first college, he inherited the open hospitality, the loyal friendship, the punctilious honor, and the generous courage that have distinguished the first families of Virginia. He was the son of Robert Major and Susan Comfort (Winder) Garrett, and was born in Williamsburg, the oldest incorporated town in Virginia, April 12, 1839. His father was mayor of Williamsburg, and superintendent of the Virginia Eastern Hospital. On his mother's side he was descended from Governor George Yeardley, the father of representative government in America.

After a preparatory course in the Williamsburg Military Academy, at the age of fifteen he entered William and Mary College, the oldest college, next to Harvard, in the United States. He was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity, and graduated from the college with the degree of A.M. in 1858. In 1891

the honorary degree of Ph.D. was conferred on him by the University of Nashville. The traditions surrounding old William and Mary were of the richest and most inspiring. It was founded in 1793, and stood but a few yards from the old Raleigh tavern, where Patrick Henry delivered his famous philippic against George III. It numbered Washington among its Chancellors, and among its graduates Jefferson, Monroe, Tyler, and John Marshall. In colonial times it presented a copy of Latin verses to the governor every "sennight," and took an interest in all affairs of church and State. This curious letter to Governor Dunmore has been preserved:

We, his majesty's dutiful and lawful subjects, the President and Professors of William and Mary College, moved by an impulse of unqualified joy, cannot help congratulating your Excellency on such a series of agreeable events as the success of your enterprise against the Indians, the addition to your family by the birth of a daughter, and your safe as well as glorious return to the capital of this Dominion.

After completing his course at William and Mary College, Captain Garrett studied law in the University of Virginia, and entered upon the practice at Williamsburg. He had not been at the bar long when the Civil War broke out in 1861. He was then a handsome young man, full of spirit, proud of his State, and eager to defend it. He volunteered as a private in the Thirty-second Regiment, commanded by his old preceptor, Benjamin S. Ewell, in April, 1861. He was soon elected captain of an artillery company raised in Williamsburg, which was mustered into the service as Company F, First Virginia Regiment of Artillery. He commanded this company throughout the campaign of the peninsula of Virginia, in which he received the commendation of both General Longstreet and General Stuart.

Being a superb horseman he had a strong preference for cavalry service, and the term of his enlistment having expired,

no difficulty in raising a battalion of partisan rangers, although within the Federal lines. Of this battalion Major Douglass was colonel and Captain Garrett adjutant. After the repeal of the partisan ranger law, they were mustered into the regular cavalry, and consolidated with Holman's battalion, forming the Eleventh Tennessee Regiment of Cavalry. The Eleventh Tennessee Cavalry served under General Forrest until his removal to Mississippi, and then under General Wheeler. It was selected by General Johnson as provost guard of his army, and continued in that duty until Hood's retreat from Tennessee, when it was again ordered to report to General Forrest. It remained with General Forrest until the close of the war, surrendering with him at Gainesville, Ala. Captain Garrett was with the Eleventh Cavalry during the whole of its career, first as adjutant, and subsequently as captain of Company B. Colonel D. W. Holman, in his sketch of the Eleventh Tennessee Cavalry* pays the following tribute to Captain Garrett:

The promotion of Captain Garrett to the captaincy of this company was most richly deserved and truly won, and was but a feeble recognition of his merits as a soldier and a man. A native of Virginia, he served with distinction the first twelve months of the war as captain of artillery in the Army of Virginia. In their official reports of the battle near Williamsburg, Va., May 5, 1862, both Generals Longstreet and Stuart allude, in terms of commendation, to his efficiency as an officer. Referring to him and his battery of four guns, General J. E. B. Stuart, in his report, says: "I will here pay a merited tribute to the excellence of the execution done by them, commanded by Captain W. Robertson Garrett, who, notwithstanding the hailstorm of bullets and shells, kept up an accurate and incessant fire upon the enemy's battery until it was silenced, and then upon his line after the brigade of infantry in the woods on the right had driven the enemy to the edge of the woods near the Telegraph road. . . . The artillery thus gave most essential aid to our infantry in their advance of triumph over every position the enemy took, until he was entirely routed." A gentleman of ability, culture, and intelligence, always loyal to principle, brave in action and faithful in the discharge of duty, his services to the regiment had been invaluable, and won for him the unbounded confidence and esteem not only of the regiment but of all who knew him.

* *Lindale's Military Annals of Tennessee.*

After the war Captain Garrett returned to Williamsburg with the purpose of resuming the practice of the law. But his old commander, Colonel Ewell, then president of William and Mary College, offered him the position of master of the grammar school of the college, which he accepted and held until January, 1868, when he removed to Giles County, Tennessee. By this circumstance his career was diverted from the law, in which he would undoubtedly have succeeded, and directed towards education, in which he became eminent. November 12, 1868, he married Julia Flournoy Batte, daughter of Doctor William Batte, of Pulaski, Tenn., and made that place his permanent home. From 1868 to 1873 he was president of Giles College, and principal of Cornersville Academy, the latter being the institution in which another distinguished educator and author, Doctor John W. Burgess, of Columbia University, New York, received his earliest training. In 1873 he was elected Superintendent of Schools of Giles County, and held the office for two years. He organized the public schools of the county under the law of 1873. Prior to that time the county had been under a system of private schools. The public schools were substituted for the private schools almost without a jar. This substitution supplied the public schools with seventy-one schoolhouses, and left but two private schools in the county.*

In the meantime he was rapidly gaining prominence in school circles. He identified himself with the Tennessee State Teachers' Association in 1870, and was afterwards its president. This association was the earliest and most efficient mover in the matter of public education in Tennessee. He also became president of the Tennessee Public School Officers' Association, and was the first secretary of the Inter-State Teachers' Association. In 1873, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, through the co-operation of the State Teachers' Association, and with funds supplied by the agent of the Peabody Fund, organized Teachers' Institutes, for the better instruction of teachers in the theory and

with the institute work in the State until two years ago, when the University of Nashville began holding summer sessions which fully occupied his time.

In 1875 the Normal University (Peabody College for Teachers) was established at Nashville, by an arrangement between the State, the agent of the Peabody Fund, and the trustees of the University of Nashville, under which Montgomery Bell Academy was to be continued in operation, and maintained as a model school to the Normal University. A corps of professors were appointed, which included Captain Garrett* who became associate principal and professor of mathematics in Montgomery Bell Academy, and moved his family to Nashville. In 1887 he organized the Watkins Night School, an institution founded upon the bequest of Samuel Watkins to the State, of a fund valued at \$200,000, for the benefit of laboring men, and continued as its principal until his death. His administration of the school was eminently successful, and the results accomplished have been far-reaching.

Captain Garrett was also a prominent figure in the National Educational Association, acting repeatedly as vice president and manager for Tennessee. When the association was called to meet at Nashville in 1890, he was president of the local executive committee organized to prepare for their reception. At the Nashville meeting he was elected president of the association, and presided at their international meeting in Toronto, Canada, in 1891.

When John P. Buchanan was elected governor of Tennessee in 1891, Captain Garrett's eminent success as an educator, and wide prominence in the school affairs of the State and nation clearly marked him as a suitable man to hold the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Still, in his modest, self-unconsciousness, it had not occurred to him. When a friend asked him how he would like the position, he replied that he had never thought of it. His friend assured him if he would make application to the governor he could have the place. He did so and was promptly appointed. When he called on the governor to thank him for an honor he thought he had so little reason to

* Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1875, pp. 36-7.

expect, he was reminded of the following characteristic incident: "Do you remember," said the governor, naming a certain time and place, "when a boisterous party of soldiers were amusing themselves at the rough sport of tossing their victim in the blanket, a green, awkward, country boy, goaded almost to desperation was standing with his back to a tree, defying his tormentors? You happened to pass at the time, and took the young volunteer under your protection dispersing his persecutors with threats of the guardhouse. I was that boy, and have always sought an opportunity to repay your kindness."

His administration of the Department of Public Instruction was thorough, systematic, energetic and progressive. It was largely through his instrumentality that the act of 1891, providing for secondary schools in the public school system of the State, was passed. His two reports to the governor are exhaustive, and are of unusual interest and value. In the first (1891) he gives a carefully prepared history of early education in Tennessee. At the conclusion of his term, he organized Garrett Military Academy, of which he was principal until his appointment to the Chair of American History in Peabody Normal College in 1875. He held this position at the time of his death, having been Dean of the Faculty since 1899.

The act of the legislature establishing the Chair of American History in Peabody Normal College, provided that a part of the fund appropriated should be devoted "to historical publications." Under this provision Captain Garrett established and edited THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the first number of which appeared January 1, 1896. He took great pride in its publication, and had a strong conviction of its historical importance. When, in January, 1902, the college decided to discontinue it, he manifested great anxiety that its publication should not be abandoned; and it was through his intervention and active interest that it was finally turned over to A. V. and W. H. Goodpasture, and made the quarterly of the Tennessee Historical Society.

He was a member of the Tennessee Historical Society, the

Committee on History of the United Confederate Veterans. He was also president of the Tennessee Division of the United Confederate Veterans, and one of the Trustees of the Confederate Memorial Association.

When the Spanish-American war came on in 1898, his old military ardor was again aroused. He raised a volunteer regiment of cavalry and tendered their services to the President. He was so hopeful of being accepted that it was arranged that the writer should occupy his chair in the college while he was in the field. But the government, finding it could not utilize more cavalry, declined his services.

All the historical work Captain Garrett did was thorough and accurate. He was painstaking with the most unimportant fact to be set down as history. He verified every statement before it was passed to the printer to be made permanent. He had a wonderful capacity for work, and turned it off rapidly when his other engagements or his social duties did not interrupt him. He never let business interfere with the demands of hospitality or friendship. When a guest entered his door, no matter how pressing the work in hand, it was laid aside. His opinion may have been wanted on a manuscript—at one time he read an American epic, at another a history of the Civil War, then tales from Tennessee history, and again an historical romance; or it may have been for an endorsement or recommendation, scores of which he prepared for his former pupils; but whatever it was it received his cheerful attention, without a hint—I might almost say a thought—of pressing work or fleeting time. Then he would resume his task with redoubled diligence until the small hours of the morning to make up his lost time.

Since his death many of his old comrades have paid touching tributes to his memory. General Stephen D. Lee, commander in chief of the United Confederate Veterans, writes: * "Truly our greatest and best are falling rapidly. Gordon just the other day; now the modest, true-hearted, hard-working, loyal, conservative Garrett has followed him. I leaned on my friend in all historical matters, and felt what he wrote I could sign without hesitation." Colonel A. G. Dickinson, a native of Williamsburg, whom Captain

* *Confederate Veteran.*

Garrett loved very dearly, says: * "I regarded Colonel Garrett as one of the purest men I ever knew. I felt at all times perfect confidence not only in his honesty and integrity but in his desire to do at all times what was right and just. I sincerely grieve at the sad loss we all have sustained who 'knew him but to love him.' He was a good man and an honor to his race. Manly, dignified, and noble, but gentle and modest as a woman."

Captain Garrett was one of the editors of *The Southwestern Journal of Education* from 1886 to 1891, and editor of THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE from 1896 to 1902. Among his published writings are:

Complimentary Squares. By W. R. Garrett. Nashville, Tenn. 1883.

History of the South Carolina Cession, and the Northern Boundary of Tennessee. By W. R. Garrett, A.M. Nashville, Tenn. 1884.

Education in the South. By Honorable W. R. Garrett. Address in Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, at its meeting in Washington, March 6-8, 1889. Pp. 280-296.

Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Tennessee, for the Scholastic Year Ending June 30, 1891. W. R. Garrett, State Superintendent. Nashville, Tenn. 1892.

Public School Laws of Tennessee, together with leading decisions of the Supreme Court, and explanatory notes. Compiled by W. R. Garrett, State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Nashville, Tenn. 1892.

Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Tennessee, for the scholastic year ending June 30, 1893. W. R. Garrett, State Superintendent. Nashville, Tenn. 1893.

The South as a Factor in the Territorial Expansion of the United States. By William Robertson Garrett, A.M., Ph.D. Captain of First Virginia Regiment Artillery—subsequently in Forrest Cavalry—Professor of American History. Peabody Normal College, Nashville, Tenn. In "Confederate Military History," edited by C. A. Evans (12 vols.) Vol. I, pp. 59-246.

Geography of Tennessee. By W. R. Garrett, A. M., Ph.D. Supplement to *Frye's Geography*. 1896.

ANNALS OF A SCOTCH-IRISH FAMILY: THE WHITSITTS OF NASHVILLE, TENN.

BY WILLIAM H. WHITSITT, RICHMOND COLLEGE, RICHMOND, VA.

"quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum insignis?"—*Juvenal VIII.* 30-32.

IV.

Henry County Period.—It will be remembered that on quitting Amherst Benjamin Menees had settled on Turkey Cock Creek, in Pittsylvania, where, on the 20th of July, 1779, he had purchased five hundred acres from John Stockton for £700. When James Menees, Sr., sold out on the 13th of February, 1782, he followed his youngest son to Pittsylvania, where a deed of gift made by him on the 4th of April, 1783, describes him as being "of the County of Pitselvania." Another deed of gift recorded in Henry County, November 12, 1783, describes him as still a resident of Pittsylvania.

When William Whitsitt sold out his property at Amherst on the 1st of October, 1781, he passed by Pittsylvania and sought a home in Henry County, where he purchased from Colonel Abraham Penn and his wife Ruth thirteen hundred and fifty acres near the present town of Martinsville, on the 1st of April, 1782, for £500. Colonel Penn was a direct descendant of William Penn's, and a devoted member of the Quaker community. Nevertheless, he was active in maintaining the patriot cause, and served as County-Lieutenant of Henry during the Revolutionary War. Quakers were often numerous represented in the centers of Virginia life at this period, and they appear to have been quite influential at Martinsville. Colonel Penn had nine sons and one daughter, and some of the most honorable families of the Commonwealth are derived from him.

James Menees, Jr., was present at the battle of Guilford Court House on the 15th of March, 1781, and it is likely that he was still detained with his command throughout that year, but when

he disposed of his Amherst property on the 5th of August, 1782, he is described in both the deeds as "James Menees of Henry County." It is supposed that after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, the hopes of returning peace became so definite that some of the soldiers were permitted to return to their families. Possibly he may have removed with his brother-in-law, Whitsitt, from Amherst to Henry in the spring of 1782 with the fixed intention of becoming a citizen of that county. But that purpose was not fulfilled. He remained in Henry, perhaps, during the summer of 1782, but when the crops had been gathered in the autumn of that year he appears to have joined a company that was bound for the newly opened Cumberland Country, and was so much pleased with the prospects in Tennessee that he soon decided to make it his home, and returned to Virginia for the purpose of carrying his family to the Western country. He was present at Amherst on the 7th of August, 1783, where he gave a power of attorney to John McDaniel, in which he describes himself as "James Menees of Nashburrough on Cumberland River."

The removal of his immediate family from Henry County to Tennessee is believed to have occurred in the autumn of 1783. The departure of their natural leader must have produced a marked impression upon those members of the Menees connection who remained behind. James Menees, Sr., the father of the family, was now far advanced in years, and could not think of undertaking such a long and perilous journey; but Benjamin Menees, the younger brother, was eager to depart. On the 16th of August, 1784, he sold his farm on Turkey Cock Creek to Elisha Walker for £350, just half the amount he had paid for it in July, 1779, and bade farewell to Virginia. The Whitsitts, however, kept their place in Henry County until October, 1790, when they also turned their faces towards the setting sun.

The Breathitt Family.—The first marriage took place in the Whitsitt family during the year 1783, when Elizabeth (Dawson),

Miss Ranney, and she appears to have called one of her own children in honor of that name. Her son, John Breathitt, in his turn did likewise. About the year 1740 John Breathitt married Miss Jane Kelley, a daughter of William Kelley, a well-to-do Scotch-Irishman, and perhaps also a Presbyterian, who resided near Hagerstown, Md. This couple had twelve children, of whom eight were boys and four were girls. The names of the sons were: William (apparently called in honor of his grandfather, William Kelley, of Maryland), Edward, James, Ranney, Francis, John, George, and Isaac. Of these only two are said to have married and left issue, namely, William and Isaac. The latter married Miss Kitty Lyles, a daughter of Dr. Richard Lyles, and these were the parents of Judge John W. Breathed, founder of the town of Breathedville in Washington County, Maryland. Judge Breathed had a number of children, one of whom was the famous Major James Breathed, commander of Stuart's Horse Artillery; and another is Mrs. Robert Bridges, of Hancock, Washington County, Md., the correspondent who has kindly supplied much of my information regarding the Maryland and Pennsylvania branch of the family.

Why should William Breathitt of Pennsylvania have traveled to Henry County, Virginia, to find a wife? And why on reaching there should he have selected Miss Elizabeth Whitsitt? It may have fallen out by accident, but Mrs. Robert Bridges says, "I have always been told that Miss Elizabeth Whitsitt was a second cousin of William Breathitt's," and therefore it may have resulted from a well established family relationship. But the question recurs as to how that relationship could have been established. It seems most likely, all things considered, that it was established through the Cardwell family. It has been suggested that there was an intimate family relation between the Breathitts and the Cardwells already before the time when Ranney Breathitt married Ellen Cardwell; and this marriage may have been celebrated in Ireland before the parties sailed for America. Such a condition of facts seems to be suggested by the circumstance that William Breathitt called one of his sons by the name of Cardwell, and that Governor John Breathitt in his turn did the same.

The above marriage occurred in the year 1783, but no record has been preserved regarding the month. It was likely solemn-

nized by the Rev. Robert Stockton who lived on the adjoining farm. On the 26th of February, 1784, William Whitsitt conveyed three hundred acres of the land that he had purchased from Abraham Penn "in consideration of the Love and Goodwill that I have for my Daughter and son-in-law William Brethead," and that estate became their home during the period of their residence in Henry County. It is owned and occupied at the present time by Mr. William H. Wells, who is glad to point out what he believes to be the site of the Breathitt house about two hundred yards in the rear of his homestead, and on the opposite side of Little Beaver Creek.

Nomenclature.—The orthography of the Breathitt name was in a state of great disorder when William Breathitt came to Henry County. It had apparently just slipped its mooring by the original English name and was on the high seas of change. In some of the documents it was written both Brethead and Breathead; in others it appears as Breatheart and Breheart; in still others as Brethart and Brethett. In Kentucky it finally came to be written Breathitt, but the Maryland branch have steadily preferred Brethead. That is an unfortunate diversity since both of these branches were derived from one and the same immigrant ancestor, John Breathitt. There can be little question that the original name was Branthwaite, which by degrees became shortened into Brathwaite, and finally for the sake of euphony was softened into Braithwaite. In Fairbairn's "Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland" the following entries appear:

1. Branthwaite and Braithwaite, Lond., on a rock, ppr., an eagle rising, ar. *Plate 61, crest 1.*
2. Brantwayte, on a rock, ppr., an eagle rising, ar. *Plate 79, crest 2.*
3. Brathwayte, Westm., a greyhound couchant, ar. (collared and lined, gu., studded and ringed, or.). *Plate 6, crest 7.*

These entries are presented to show the present distribution of the family in England as well as the diversities of usage in the spelling of the name. The word "thwaite" is defined in the Century Dictionary as "a piece of ground reclaimed and converted to tillage. Thwaite chiefly occurs as the second element of local names especially in the lake district of the north of England, as in Bassenthwaite, Crossthwaite and Stonethwaite."

The word "bran" is also declared by the same authority to be "a dialectical form of 'bren,' 'burn.'" Putting these two meanings together I should conclude that Branthwaite would signify a piece of land reclaimed and converted to tillage by burning the logs and shrubs that were found upon it. If that is a just conclusion it would indicate that the Branthwaites or Braithwaites were among the pioneer settlers of the Lake District of England, where the word "thwaite" appears to have been chiefly employed. It not unfrequently occurs as a family name, and is then written in the form "Thweat."

Origin of the American Breathitts.—A considerable body of material regarding the Braithwaites may be consulted in the different volumes of Burke's "Commoners," as also of Burke's "Landed Gentry," but I have not yet been able to derive from it any fixed conclusion as to the particular branch from which the American family were descended. However, the names George and Isaac and James seem to be about as popular in the Westmoreland branch of the family as among the Breathitts of Kentucky and Maryland. Could it be possible that these were originally derived from Westmoreland County? May it be supposed that some of the Westmoreland people had emigrated to Ireland, where the American branch must have been settled for a season before their departure for their new homes?

Burke's "Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland," London, 1847, p. 22, supplies an account of the Armitage Family of Coole and Drumin in County Louth. The Armitages are said to have belonged originally to Yorkshire, but they became established in Ireland in the time of Queen Elizabeth, upon grants of land situated at Atherdee, Coole, Cardiston and Drumin, all in the County of Louth. In the course of time they wearied of Ireland, and returning to England established themselves as absentee landlords at Kensington in Middlesex. But, apparently be-

fore leaving Ireland, Robert Armitage, then the head of the family, "married, in 1766, Caroline, eldest daughter of Colonel Braithwaite, by Sylvia Cole his wife, a descendant of the family of Cole of Colchester. Colonel Braithwaite returning from America in 1740 with his wife and children, was killed in an action with a Spanish privateer in the Channel. He left one son, the late General Sir John Braithwaite, Bart., commander-in-chief at Madras; and two daughters, Caroline (Mrs. Armitage), and Sylvia wife of Bonnet Thornton, Esq." But 1740 is the identical date which Mrs. Bridges has assigned for the arrival of John Breathitt the immigrant in America, and therefore one is tempted to fancy that he came with the aforesaid Colonel Braithwaite, and that he may have been a near relative of the colonel's. But there is no ground for dogmatic confidence in such conclusions. Here is much room for additional research.

Prosperity.—William Breathitt appears to have been a prosperous economist during the period of his residence in Henry County. In almost every business transaction he was distinctly fortunate. The tendency to travel westward, especially after the Cumberland Country in Middle Tennessee had been opened, was very active, and some families must have made sacrifice of their possessions in Virginia on account of their anxiety to join the caravans that were constantly moving into the wilderness. Breathitt resisted this Western fever, and exhibited the singular spectacle of a man who preferred the East to the West; for after disposing of his home in 1793, instead of journeying towards Nashville he returned and quietly established himself in Campbell County, Virginia, on the highway between Lynchburg and the then famous center of New London, where his distinguished son, Governor John Breathitt, was born. Finally, about the close of the eighteenth century, the influences of his wife's family prevailed, and disposing of his remaining possessions in Virginia, he set out for Tennessee. On the 16th of July, 1795, he had purchased military land warrants from William and Joseph Porter for one thousand acres in Maury County on the north side of Duck River between Cedar and Fountain Creeks. The price paid

Religion.—Doctor Howell in his biography of Rev. James Whitsitt affirms that William Breathitt was by religious profession an Episcopalian. This may be correct, but as the Breathitts had likely come from the north of Ireland, and as the family of John Breathitt of Pennsylvania were probably at that period Presbyterians, it is more reasonable to conclude that William Breathitt was a Presbyterian, in his sympathies if not by actual membership in the Church.

The Blakey Family.—The second marriage that occurred in the family of William Whitsitt was that of his daughter Margaret to George Blakey. The following notice of the marriage is found in the records of the family: "George Blakey, eldest son of Thomas and Ann Haden Blakey, born in Culpeper [Albemarle] County, Virginia, November 22, 1749, was married to Margaret Whitsitt in Henry County, Virginia, January 10, 1787, and died at Rural Choice, Ky., September 8, 1842. Just as the sun was peeping over the snowy hills of Trenton, he entered the city with Washington. He first settled in Davidson County, Tennessee, and afterward removed to Rural Choice, Ky." In the month of October, 1788, Whitsitt gave to his daughter, Margaret, five hundred acres of land, more or less, and in the deed her name is spelled once Blakey and four times Blakley.

Nomenclature: The name Blakey has been spelled and pronounced in many different ways. In Fairbairn's "Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland," the following two entries may be found:

1. "Blackie and Blackley, Lanc., a dragon's head, vert, ducally gorged, or. *Plate 36, crest 7.*"
2. "Blackley or Blakey, Blackley Hall, Lanc., a dragon's head, vert, ducally gorged, or. *Plate 36, crest 7.*"

These, which both refer to one and the same coat of arms, are set down in this place merely to show some of the variations that may be cited in the spelling of the name. The Blakeys of this country as in England appear to have used considerable liberty in that direction. Sometimes they write it Blakey or Blackey or Blackie, and it is possible that all these forms were pronounced in the same way, and at other times they write it Blackley or Blakley or Blacklee. The earliest mention of the immigrant ancestor of the Blakeys of Logan County, Kentucky, that

has come to my notice is found on page 29 of "The Parish Register of Christ Church, Middlesex County, Virginia. From 1663 to 1812. Richmond, 1897." It reads as follows: "Thomas Blackby & Margaret Jones both of this parish married 4th October, 1686." Here the form Blackby seems to be a mistake of the copyist for Blackley. On page 33 the same statement is given in a slightly different form as follows: "1686. Married. 4 Octob. Thomas Blackey of Cumberland in England & Margt. Jones of Clamorganshire in Wales."

In the "Military Census of Middlesex County, November 23, 1687," the Commissioners, as reported in the *Virginia Magazine of History*, vol. viii., p. 190, "say Upon further Examination that the persons underwritten are thought by this Court Capable to Serve as footmen and to finde themselves with Armes &c," and Robert Blakey is the fourteenth name in the list; but when the name of Robert Blakey appears in the Christ Church Register it is written almost uniformly as Robert Blackley. It has been suggested that the distinguished Judge Bleckley, of Atlanta, Ga., may have been descended from this Robert Blackley of Middlesex.

It seems likely that the name was originally Blackleigh or Blackley or Blacklea. According to the best authorities "leigh" and "ley" are but different methods of spelling "lea," meaning pasture or meadow, and often used as a suffix in English place-names, such as Chumleigh, Chudleigh. The Blakeys appear to have taken their name from living on or near a black, rich meadow. Some of them, as the family of Robert Blakey of Middlesex, Va., preferred the ancient usage, while others found the "l" when coming after "k" to be difficult of utterance and so elected to elide it and employ the form Blakey, which was later shortened to Blackey. Possibly the pronunciation of Blackey and Blakey may have been the same, but it has now been gradually modified much in the fashion as Blackley has in some instances changed to Blaikley or Blakeley.

Churchill Blakey of Wales.—A slight amount of confusion has crept into the opening statements of the Blakey family records. The first of these affirms that "Churchill Blakey of Wales son of Churchill Blakey of Wales married Miss Sally George;" but the Register of Christ Church Parish does not sustain that item.

Thomas Blakey, of Cumberland, England, was the immigrant ancestor, and not Churchill Blakey. The tradition of a Welsh connection arose from the fact that Margaret Jones, the first wife of Thomas Blakey, and the mother of Churchill Blakey, was derived from Glamorganshire in Wales. The precise date of the arrival in Virginia of the Blakeys has not yet been determined. The Christ Church Register, p. 22, says that "Robert Blakley and Jane Kidd was married 29th of January, 1683-4." If Thomas arrived as early as Robert we may suppose that they landed somewhere about 1680.

William Blackey, Gentleman, who figured in York (later New Kent) County, Virginia, was a man of worship and a member of the House of Burgesses in 1657-8, but I cannot make out that he was connected with the Blakeys of Middlesex. On the 29th of July, 1647, he patented 300 acres "in the County of Yorke opposite the pamunkee Landing place," in consideration of the transportation of six persons into the colony. On the 29th day of June, 1655, he patented one thousand acres adjoining the former entry in consideration of the transportation of twenty persons into the colony. On the 28th of November, 1656, there was another entry of one thousand acres for a similar consideration, and on the 12th of February, 1662, the above entries were all confirmed by Sir William Berkeley, Governor of the colony. This last entry seems to indicate that the restoration of the Stuarts in England had rendered the titles of lands in Virginia to a certain extent insecure.

The Immigrant Ancestor.—The following notices of Thomas Blakey, the immigrant ancestor of the Blakey family of Kentucky, have been collected from the above mentioned Register of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex, Virginia:

1. "Thomas Blackby & Margaret Jones both of this parish married 4th Octob. 1686" (p. 29).
2. "1686. Married. 4 Octob. Thomas Blackey of Cumberland in England & Margt. Jones of Glamorganshire in Wales" (p. 33).
3. "Churchhill Blake the Sone of Thomas and Margaret Blake baptiz. at ye Upper Chap'll 27th feby 1686" (p. 31).
4. "Margrett Blakey dyed November ye 14 & was burried November ye 16, 1714" (p. 84).

5. "Thomas Blakey and Mary Meacham married Decembr. ye 5, 1715" (p. 83).

6. "Thomas Blakey dyed May ye 17, 1732" (p. 188).

7. "Mary Blakey died Janry. ye 16th, 1745" (p. 196).

The Roger Jones Family.—Thomas Blakey, the immigrant ancestor, is supposed to have contracted a fortunate marriage alliance. Captain Roger Jones had come to Virginia in 1860 with Lord Culpepper, and was commander of a ship in the service of the government. He became the founder of a large and powerful family, and an account of them may be read in a work entitled *Descendants of Roger Jones*, by Judge L. H. Jones, of Louisville, Ky. Margaret Jones, the first wife of Thomas Blakey, appears to have been a sister of Captain Roger Jones and an aunt of his son, Roger Jones, Jr. This Roger Jones, Jr., about the year 1690 had married Mary, the daughter of Colonel William Churchill. Being a person of some consideration and position Mrs. Blakey was apparently appreciated by the family of Colonel Churchill with whom she had thus become allied by marriage, and her first and only living child was called Churchill in honor of them.

The children of Roger Jones, Jr., that were born after he came with his wife to reside in Christ Church Parish are duly recorded in the Register as follows:

1. "Susannah Jones Daughter of Roger & Mary Jones was borne the 19th of November and was christened the same day at Mr. Churchill's house by Mr. Samuell Gray 1695" (p. 44).

2. "Churchill Jones the Sone of Roger & Mary Jones was borne the 15th of Janr and baptz 13th of March 1697-8" (p. 45).

3. "Susannah Churchill Jones the daughter of Roger & Mary Jones was baptized the 14th of August, 1700" (p. 47). This is apparently the same child as No. 1, above. It had likely received a baptism of necessity at the hands of Mr. Gray in 1695, which was permitted to stand as long as he remained in office, but when Mr. Robert Yates became Rector a second, provisional, baptism appears to have been conferred, while the name was altered from Susannah to Susannah Churchill."

4. "Thomas Jones ye Sone of Roger Jones & Mary his wife was born the 23d of August Anno Domini 1704" (p. 56).

5. "Judah the Daughter of Roger & Mary Jones was born the 26th day of December 1702" (p. 59).

6. "James ye Son of William & Mary Jones his wife was baptized April ye 1st 1705" (p. 66).

7. "Mary ye Daughter of Mr. Roger & Mdm. Mary his wife was Baptized March ye 23rd 1706-7" (p. 69).

8. "Roger ye Son of Mr. Roger Jones & Mrs. Mary his Wife was Baptized December ye 18th Anno Domi 1709" (p. 73).

9. "Roger Jones, Jr. dyed October ye 29th, 1720 26 and was buried October ye 29th, 1720" (p. 177). This was the head of the family.

A well informed writer in W. & M. Q. vol. ix ix. 41 says that Judah, Number 5, above, whom he calls Judith married Paulin Anderson on January 9, 1723, and that is perhaps the way in which the names of Paulin and Churchill became so well established in the Anderson family of Lebanon, Tenn.

The George Family.—The descent of Churchill, the only son and child of Thomas and Margaret Blakey having been set forth from the Register of Christ Church Parish above, it may now be in order to indicate from the same source the descent of his wife, Sarah George. They were an ancient family of Middlesex, and may have been on the ground in advance of the Blakeys. David and Mary George are mentioned as early as 1671, but there is no sufficient proof that they were connected with the family of Sarah George. The following notices are copied from the Parish Register:

1. "Mary Elliott ye Daughter of Thomas & Sarah Elliott baptiz. at ye Upper Chap'll 27th feby 1686" (p. 31).

2. "March 4 1686. Buried Thomas Elliott of Chipping Orgur in Essex" (p. 32).

3. "Robert George & Sarah Elliott both of this parish was married 6th of July 1687" (p. 35).

4. "Christened at ye Upper Chappell ye 11th day of Xember 1689 Catharine Daughter to Robert George & Sarah his Wife" (p. 40).

5. "Sarah Daughter of Robert & Sarah George baptz. 12 of March 1692-3" (p. 51).

6. "Jane the Daughter of Robert & Sarah George baptz. 19th of April 1702" (p. 55).

7. "John George ye Son of Robert & Sarah George was Baptized ye 3d day of September 1704" (p. 62).

8. "Richard Son of Robert & Sarah George baptized ye 29th day of May 1709" (p. 79).

The Third Generation.—The history of the third generation of American Blakeys in this line is set forth as follows by the Parish Register of Christ Church:

1. "Churchill Blakey & Sarah George married 30th of November 1710" (p. 82).

2. "Thomas Son of Churchhill & Sarah Blacky baptized Aprill 6 1712" (p. 86).

3. "Margarett daughter of Churchill & Sarah Blakey baptized the 18th day of Aprill 1714" (p. 88).

4. "George son of Churchhill & Sarah Blakey born Ap: 3 baptized May 6 1716" (p. 94).

5. "John Son of Churchhill & Sarah Blakey born Decem'r ye 9, baptized Janry 25 1718" (p. 101).

6. "Robert Son of Churchhill & Sarah Blakey born March ye 7 1720. Baptized Ap. 2 1721" (p. 107).

7. "Betty daughter of Churchhill & Sarah Blakey born Novemr ye 20 baptized Decemr 15 1723" (p. 113).

8. "Jane daughter of Churchhill & Sarah Blakey born Febr'y 24 1725. baptized April ye 3 1736" (p. 119).

9. "Sarah daughter of Churchhill & Sarah Blakey born Novmr 28. baptized Decemr 22 1728" (p. 125).

10. "Susanna Daughter of Churchhill & Sarah Blakey born Janry 13th Baptiz'd Feb. 16 1734" (p. 140).

11. "Catherine Daughter of Churchhill & Sarah Blakey born July ye 2d. baptized July ye 16 1738" (p. 147).

12. "Churchill Blakey dyed May ye 8th 1738" (p. 192).

No record of the death of his wife, Sarah George Blakey, could be found in the Register.

The Fourth Generation.—The history of Thomas the oldest son of Churchill Blakey the first will be discussed in the succeeding section of this paper. Of Margaret the oldest daughter

by the William and Mary College Quarterly vol. ix. 41, which says: "Among the Middlesex marriage bonds are the following:

"George Blakey of Spotsylvania county, bond to marry Clara Daniel, widow, 28 April, 1745. Security, Robert George.

"George Blakey, bond to marry Catherine Shelton, December 31, 1743. Security, Robert Daniel."

Perhaps he was still a resident of Middlesex though not of Christ Church Parish when he married Catherine Shelton. In the Register of the Parish, p. 104, the following entry appears to refer to her: "Catherine daughter of Ralph & Mary Shelton born January 26, baptized March ye 13th 1719." When his first wife died in Spotsylvania he returned to Middlesex for another and this time selected the Widow Daniel. An entry on p. 155 of the Parish Register appears to relate to her: "Ann daughter of Garritt & Clary Daniel born February 21st 1742". A second entry, p. 195, seems to indicate the death of her first husband: "Garret Daniel died January ye 28th 1744-5." It was exactly fifteen months afterwards when the second marriage was celebrated.

In the records of Culpeper county the will of a John Blakey is found who appears to have been the third son of Churchill who was born on the 25th of Jan. 1718. By the will it appears that he died on the 30th of December 1781. His children were John, Churchill, Frances *m.* Bush, Martha *m.* Morris, Sarah *m.* Eddins and Ellizabeth *m.* Davis. (Green, notes on Culpeper Co. Va., Culpeper 1900. Pt. II. p. 44). The daughter Martha in this list is supposed to be the one mentioned on p. 150 of the Parish Register as follows: "Martha Daughter of John & Jane Blakey was born Jan. 4th 1739-40." In his notes on Culpeper Pt. II. p. 58, Mr. Green also mentions that Churchill Blakey married Mary Clark in 1781, and William Blakey married Polly Gaines in 1799. This Churchill was perhaps the son of John Blakey as cited above.

The names of the children of George Blakey have not yet been recovered. The territory of Spotsylvania county was later divided so as to make six counties, namely Spotsylvania, Orange, Culpeper, Madison, Greene and Rappahannock counties and it is not clear in which of the six his lot may have fallen.

Robert the fourth and youngest son of Churchill Blakey, born March 7, 1720, seems to have been the only one of them all that remained in the Middlesex home, but as he early removed from the limits of Christ Church Parish the Register makes no further mention of him. It is not known who he married, or how many children he left behind. The name of only one of his children, Churchill, has yet been recovered. The Middlesex Records show that on the 15th of October 1773, Churchill Blakey gave a bond to marry Ann Chowning (W. & M. Quarterly vii. 193). His will was proved in Middlesex Court June 27, 1814, and the names of his children were as follows: 1. Jane Healy Blakey, 2. Robert, 3. Henry, 4. Ann, wife of Thomas Kidd, 5. Elizabeth, 6. Catherine Chowning, 7. Frances, 8. Lucy. (W. & M. Q. ix. 41).

Christ Church Register supplies a number of additions to the above information. For example it says, p. 199: "William Chowning, Son of Churchill and Ann Blakey was born January 30th 1775." Again on p. 303 it says: William C. Blakey & Jane Healy [married] January 28th 1802." These two items compared with the list given just above must render it clear that Jane Healy Blakey was the widow of William Chowning Blakey deceased. The Register contains the following statements regarding other children whose names are found in the above will of Churchill Blakey:

2. "Robert Blakey & Frances D. Roane [married] October 12, 1808" (p. 304).

3. "Henry Blakey & Frances O. George [married] August 29, 1802, (p. 308).

4. "Robert Blakey Kidd Son of Thomas & Nancy Kidd born June 23, 1800, baptized Januy 1st 1805."

"Mary Anne Kidd Daughter of the same parents born Decr 10th, 1806 baptized January 1st 1808" (p. 289).

5. "Matthew Major & Elizabeth Blakey [married] Jany

Roane, daughter of Thomas Roane of Middleberry in Middlesex county on October 12, 1808. He was the father of John Chowning Blakey (died in 1859), who was the father of Hon. Thomas E. Blakey, of Essex county, member of the present State Senate of Virginia. The latter writes that his 'grandfather Robert Blakey had a brother named Churchill Blakey who died in infancy, and he named one of his sons Churchill Blakey who likewise died in infancy.'"

While it has been possible to recover the above notices of the sons of Churchill Blakey the first I have not had the fortune to discover any items concerning his daughters Betty, Jane Sarah, Susanna and Catherine. They were among the younger children and apparently none of them had married prior to the date when their mother Sarah George Blakey removed with them out of the limits of Christ Church Parish. Here is a wide field for research. There must be many people in Virginia and other States who bear the blood but not the name of these Blakeys.

Thomas Blakey the Second.—The Blakey records make the following statement regarding him: "Thomas Blakey of Virginia, son of Churchill and Sally George Blakey, married Miss Ann Haden daughter of Anthony Haden of England, who married Miss Margaret Douglas of Scotland." The records of Albemarle County, Virginia (Deed-Book 1, p. 33), show that on the 8th of September, 1748, Thomas Blakey, of the county of Goochland, purchased of William Noland for £50, two hundred acres of land on Arthur's Creek of Slate River. The Surveyor's Book of Albemarle, 1, p. 107, shows that on the 5th of December, seventeen hundred and forty-nine, Thos. Turpin, assistant surveyor, had surveyed for him two hundred acres additional, which lay adjacent to the purchase made from Noland, and he took out a Patent for this tract on the 10th of Sept., seventeen hundred and fifty-five. In 1761 Buckingham County was formed from Albemarle, and thenceforth embraced his residence.

Conflict with the Wise Family.—The assertion that Ann Haden was the daughter of Anthony Haden, who had married Margaret Douglas, of Scotland, seems to be irreconcilably opposed by the genealogical records of the family of Governor Henry A. Wise, of Virginia. The Wise family represent their case as follows:

"Major John Wise, one of the old clerks of Accomac County, was the oldest son of Colonel John Wise, and his wife Margaret Douglas. This Colonel John Wise died in the year 1770, five years before the Revolutionary War began. He was a commissioned colonel of the King's militia, one of the King's justices for Accomac, and also a county-lieutenant, a kind of deputy to the colonial Governor, which each of the counties of Virginia had at that time. He was a great-grandson of still another John Wise, a native of England, who sailed from Gravesend in that country July 4th 1635, and settled in Accomac, then Northampton County; and afterwards when Accomac was formed in 1662 he was appointed amongst the very first of the King's justices for that county. . . .

"Margaret Douglas, the wife of Colonel John Wise, and the mother of Major John Wise, was a daughter of Colonel George Douglas, a native of Scotland who had settled in Accomac, was a lawyer by profession and a descendant of the famous Earls of Angus, whose family name was Douglas, and who figured so conspicuously in Scottish history. One of them, Sir George Douglas, Earl of Angus, married Mary, Daughter of Robert III, King of Scotland; and from this Sir George Douglas and his wife Mary was descended through Archibald Douglas the 'great' Earl of Angus (as he was called) Colonel George Douglas, the Scotch lawyer who settled in Accomac, and whose daughter Margaret became the mother of Major John Wise. Some of the law books which belonged to Colonel George Douglas are now in the possession of the Honorable John S. Wise, of Richmond, Va., having come to him by inheritance through Major Wise. They include some old English Reports, a '*Natura Brevium*' of the first edition, and a Coke upon Littleton printed in 1629." (Johnston, *Memorials of Old Virginia Clerks*, Lynchburg 1888, pp. 10, 11, 12).

Was Margaret Douglas the wife of Anthony Haden before she became the wife of Colonel John Wise? Was she the wife of Anthony Haden and not the wife of Colonel John Wise, or *vice versa*? I have no material that would enable me to reach a definite conclusion regarding these questions. It is worthy of

discussion cannot fail to do good and to clear up the historical situation. I suppose that both the Wise and Blakey family will continue in the future as in the past to perpetuate the memory of Colonel George Douglas by naming their children in his honor. There has not been a generation since the death of Margaret Douglas in which each of these tribes have not possessed members bearing that name. Perhaps Colonel George Douglas Wise, of Richmond, is at present the most prominent George Douglas on either side.

Family of Anthony Haden and Margaret Douglas Haden.—According to the Blakey records the sons were, (1) John, (2) William, (3) Joseph, (4) Thomas, and (5) Zechariah; and the daughters, (1) Jane, (2) Anne, (3) Elizabeth, and (4) Ruth. Jane is said to have married Mr. Hensley: Ann married Thomas Blakey as above recited, and Ruth married Jacob Harris.

Children of Thomas and Ann Haden Blakey.—The date of the marriage of Thomas Blakey the Second to Ann Haden has not been preserved, and notes of time in connection with the birth of their children are not numerous. Their daughter Sally, born February 15, 1747, may have been the eldest child. George, who is said to have been their oldest son, was born November 22, 1749, in Albemarle (later Buckingham) County. In the deed of William Noland conveying two hundred acres in September, 1748, he is described as "Thomas Blakey of Goochland county." With the purchase of that home he became a resident of Albemarle until 1761, when his place was included in the newly formed county of Buckingham, where he continued to reside until his death. It was situated near Muddy Creek of Slate River, and it is possible that the family carried that name with them to Logan County, Kentucky, where a Muddy Creek was likewise found near their residence. There are said to have been seven sons and three daughters, namely (1) George, (2) Thomas, (3) John, (4) William, (5) Reuben, (6) Churchill, (7) Joseph, (1) Sarah, (2) Catharine, and (3) Ann.

Records of the Above Children.—Reuben met an untimely end, having been drowned in the Kentucky River on his way to the West. Sarah, who was born, as already recited, on the 15th of

ber 4, 1822. Catharine married Rev. Robert Stockton, of Albemarle County. Later they removed to Henry County, whence in the year 1800 they removed to Barren County, Kentucky, where he died in 1825. Ann married Joseph Oglesby and died in Kentucky.

Thomas Blakey the Third, son of Thomas and Ann Haden Blakey, married Miss Frances Perrow and left an only daughter, Sally, who married Price Perkins. Thomas Blakey the Third died in Buckingham County, Virginia. It is supposed that Miss Frances Perrow belonged to the ancient Virginia family of Perrott. Of one of these the following quaint account is found in the Register of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex: "Richard Perrott the Sone of Mr. Richard Perrott dec'd was Borne the 24th of february 1650 Being the first Man Child that was gott and Borne in Rappahannock River of English Parents" (p. 41).

William Blakey, brother of Thomas, married Miss Spencer, of Virginia, and died in Cumberland County, Kentucky, in the year 1813, leaving an only daughter, who married Robert Stockton.

Churchill, the sixth of the brothers named above, was married to Miss Agnes Anthony, daughter of Joseph Anthony, of Henry County, Virginia, and died in Wilkes County, Georgia. Following is a copy of the marriage bond of Churchill Blakey as found recorded at Martinsville, Va.:

"Know all men by these Presents that we Churchill Blakey and Robert Stokton of the County of Henry are held and firmly bound unto the Commonwealth of Virginia in the Sum of Five Thousand Pounds to be paid to the said Commonwealth we bind ourselves and each of our heirs Exors and Admr's firmly by these Pre'n'ts sealed with our Seals and Dated this 2d Augt 1780 Whereas there is a Marriage depending and by Gods permission suddenly intended between the above bound Churchill Blakey and Agness Anthony. Now the Consideration of the above Obligation is such that if there is no lawfull Cause to Obstruct the said Marriage, Then the above Obligation to be void or Else Remain in full force Power and Virtue."

"Signed Sealed & Delivered
in Presence of

"ROBERT STOCKTON *Seal.*
"CHURCHILL BLAKEY *Seal.*"

died in Wilkes County, Georgia. Winifred Anthony and her sister Agnes, who had married Churchill Blakey, were daughters of Joseph Anthony, a wealthy and excellent citizen of Henry County. He was the father of fourteen children, of whom Agnes was the eighth and Winifred the eleventh. It is clear from his will, dated September 24, 1785, that Joseph Blakey must have married Winifred Anthony after the death of her father. The following provision in the will is worthy of mention: "And it is my will that if any of my children should refuse to keep the negroes which I will to them, that they be returned to my estate and equally divided amongst the rest of my children."

Conscientious scruples about the ownership of slaves were very customary at that period in Virginia; but in the family of this Joseph Anthony it is claimed that they were reinforced by Quaker sentiments and proclivities. Indeed, it has been reported that Elizabeth, his wife, removed to Georgia after the death of Joseph, where she was much esteemed as an able and effective Quaker preacher.

There was another and very different Joseph Anthony in Henry County at this time, who attained distinction and success as a Baptist minister, but no proof has ever been brought to show that there was any kind of connection or relation between the two.

It has already been related that George, who is marked as Number 1 in the family of Thomas Blakey the Second, married Margaret Whitsitt on the 10th of January, 1787, but the Blakey records so far as I can discover give no account of the marriage of John, the third son.

Rectors of Christ Church, Middlesex.—For the benefit of those who may care to know the clergyman who officiated at the baptism or marriage or burial of any of the Blakeys of Middlesex, Va., the following list is supplied of the rectors of Christ Church Parish:

Rev. Mr. Morris, A. D. 1663-6; Rev. John Shepherd, A. D. 1668-83; Rev. Duell Pead, A. D. 1683-90; Rev. Matthew Lidford, A. D. 1692-3; Rev. Samuel Gray, A. D. 1693-9; Rev. Robert Yates, A. D. 1699-1704; Rev. Bartholomew Yates, A. D. 1704-34; Rev. John Klug, A. D. 1767-95.

Religion.—The Blakeys had been members of the Church of

England for hundreds of years, and the family of Thomas Blakey were perhaps still in that communion when he established himself in Albemarle in 1748. It is hardly possible to trace at this distance of time the process by which they were induced to quit the Church of England and attach themselves to the Baptist. It is probable, however, that David Patterson, who had married Sarah (George) Blakey in April, 1763, may have been the means of bringing about this change of views. The Pattersons appear to have come from New Kent County, and they may likewise have been members of the Church of England. The records of Royal Patents show that David Patterson, who must have been the father of the man who married Sarah Blakey, entered three hundred and thirty-seven acres on the north side of James River, in Henrico County, on the 22d of June, 1722. On the 27th and 28th of September, 1730, he entered three more tracts, two of them containing each four hundred acres, and the third three hundred and forty-two acres, in Goochland County, but yet adjoining the previous entry in Henrico. This was made possible by the fact that in the year 1727 Goochland had been formed from Henrico. These lands were situated on the waters of Great and Little Licking Hole Creeks within the present limits of Goochland.

On the 10th of September, 1755, David Patterson had also entered twenty-nine hundred and eleven acres in Albemarle on the north side of Appomattox River, near its headwaters, and on the 4th of July, 1759, he had entered four hundred acres in Albemarle on the branches of North Creek, near Piney Mountain. The last two of these tracts fell within the limits of Buckingham when that county was duly organized in 1761. David Patterson, son of his father of the same name, must have inherited these and shortly set up his residence near the home of the Blakeys. When the marriage with Sarah (George) Blakey occurred all parties were in the full odor of Church of England orthodoxy. But Doctor Semple ("History," Beale's ed., p. 283) reports that Patterson was "part of the first fruit of the Gospel in these parts." The conversion of Mr. Patterson could hardly have occurred before the year 1767 or later than 1770. He is believed

ship that Robert Stockton was invited to Buckingham, where he met and married Catharine Blakey.

Stockton was a Scotch-Irishman throughout and throughout, and one of the noblest men of that blood. He came from Albemarle, and probably from Stockton's Fork, where his great and honorable family had established themselves as early as 1737. He was born there December 12, 1743, and had become a devout member of the Presbyterian Church when he was baptized by the Rev. Samuel Harris in the year 1771 in Henry County. It is not known how long he had been married to Catharine Blakey before that time. By these two alliances the Blakeys became connected with two of the strongest and worthiest families of Virginia. According to the standards of that age both of them were reckoned to be wealthy men (Semple, *ubi supra*, p. 283 and p. 346), but they were both distinguished for steady zeal and exemplary piety.

When William Whitsitt was purchasing his farm of thirteen hundred and fifty acres from Abraham and Ruth Penn on the first of April, 1782, it was declared in his deed to lie adjoining the lands of John Cooper, Thomas Cooper, Robert Stockton and Peter Copland, and he was thus brought into close connection with one of the most active and important Baptist ministers of Virginia. If he had been converted to the faith of the Baptists already in Amherst there was now brought nigh to him an opportunity to become strengthened and settled in it.

And there is some reason to believe that he had already become allied to the Baptists in Amherst. Allusion may be had in this connection to the fact that the Baptist minister, Joseph Anthony, had subscribed his name as one of the witnesses to the deed of gift made by James Menees, Sr., to his daughter, Ellen Menees, on the 12th of November, 1783. This would seem to indicate that the family were at least on friendly terms with Mr. Anthony. Moreover, in the year 1785 Mr. Anthony found it desirable to take out license empowering him to solemnize the rites of matrimony, and William Whitsitt became one of his sureties. Following is a copy of the bond of Mr. Anthony:

"We Joseph Anthony, James Anthony, Wm. Hunter & Wm. Whitsett are held & firmly bound unto the Governor of Virginia

the sum of five hundred pounds current money of Virginia to which payment well & truly to be made, we bind ourselves our joint and several heirs Exrs. Adrs. the condition of the above obligation is such that if the above bound Joseph Anthony shall well and truly perform the solemnization of Marriage according to law then the above obligation to be void & none effect, otherwise remain in full force & Virtue. Given under our hands this twenty seventh day of July one thousand seven hundred & eighty five.

"JOSEPH ANTHONY [L. S.]

"JAMES ANTHONY [L. S.]

"WM. WHITSITTS [L. S.]"

It was therefore no merely accidental occurrence that George Blakey, who was a brother-in-law of the Baptist minister, Robert Stockton, should have been accepted as the husband of Margaret Whitsitt on the 10th of January, 1787. It has not been possible to recover his marriage bond at Martinsville, but it is more than likely that the ceremony of marriage was solemnized by the Rev. Robert Stockton.

The Great Revival.—It began in the year 1785 and continued to spread until the year 1792 (Semple, p. 58). It was out of sight the most important movement of the kind that was ever enacted in the State of Virginia. It revolutionized affairs and altered the face of religious society. The estimate of Doctor Semple is very sober and worthy of careful study. He says: "Thousands were converted and baptized, besides many who joined the Methodists and Presbyterians. The Protestant Episcopalians, although much dejected by the loss of the Establishment, had nevertheless continued their public worship and were attended by respectable congregations. But after this revival their society fell fast into dissolution."

The changes which it produced among the Baptists are likewise worthy of careful attention. Doctor Semple (p. 59) adds: "From this revival great changes took place among the Baptists, some for the better and others for the worse. Their preachers

spectable. Besides, they were joined by persons of much greater weight in civil society; their congregations became more numerous than those of any other Christian sect, and in short they might be considered from this period as taking the lead in matters of religion in many places of the State."

It is plain that the Baptists were established upon new and better foundations by this revival. According to the report of Doctor Howell it struck Henry County in the spring of the year 1789. The fire was first lighted by the Rev. James Anthony. Though he was a man of slight abilities, he possessed a fervent spirit, and the halo of a confessor, derived from the fact that he had been confined in the jail of Chesterfield County for preaching the Gospel. It has been shown that already as early as the year 1783 he was an intimate friend of the Whitsitt family. Mr. Anthony had a church on Beaver Creek (Semple, p. 339), and the farm of William Whitsitt was situated on Little Beaver (*alias* Red Bank) Creek, extending down almost to the point where it emptied into Beaver Creek. The church was therefore well suited for the convenience of his household, and they seem to have attended its services with regularity. Indeed, James Menees, Sr., although he was far advanced in years often found it possible to be present, and in the year 1789 he is said to have quitted the Presbyterians to join Mr. Anthony's church on Beaver Creek.

Fortunes of James Whitsitt.—The experience of James Whitsitt in connection with this revival is narrated by Doctor Howell with a great amount of interest and detail. He had reached his eighteenth birthday on the 31st of January, 1789, and was absent in Richmond on business for his father when the revival appeared at Beaver Creek. Upon his return he was much disgusted to hear of the excitement that prevailed in the community, and in his own family circle. Before the week was out, however, he attended an evening meeting and was greatly impressed by what he saw and felt. A short while afterwards he had occasion to return to Richmond in charge of a number of wagons and had much conference with one of the drivers who had lately embraced religion under the labors of Mr. Anthony. He was enabled during the course of the journey to reach a decision, and shortly after his return home he applied for admission to the community

on Beaver Creek. He was baptized in due time by Mr. Anthony and in a short while applied for license to become a minister. It was granted and he entered upon his work with much enthusiasm. His affairs progressed very satisfactorily till the month of October, 1790, when a large colony, consisting of several hundred people, left Henry County for Nashville on the Cumberland. In that colony were found the families of George Blakey and William Whitsitt, with the exception of James Whitsitt, the young minister, who had been left behind to wind up some of the business affairs of his father.

After the departure of his father's household James Whitsitt became an inmate of the home of his brother-in-law, William Breathitt, where he also had the company of his grandfather, James Menees, Sr., until the latter passed away. The young man had great respect for the character and abilities of Mr. Breathitt, and they conferred together about many questions. Among other things Mr. Breathitt persuaded him that he had acted under excitement and with undue haste in departing from the church of his fathers and uniting with the Baptists. He became so well convinced on that point that Doctor Howell says: "He instantly relinquished preaching, stated his case to the brethren without disguise and, since nothing short of this could satisfy him, sought and obtained prompt exclusion from the church."

The famous John Leland says in his "Virginia Chronicle" that "upon the first rise of the Baptists in Virginia they were very strict in their dress. Men cut off their hair like Cromwell's roundheaded chaplains, and women cast away all their superfluities; so that they were distinguished from others merely by their decoration. Where all were of one mind no evil ensued; but some did not choose to dock and strip, and where churches made it a matter of discipline, it made great confusion; for no standard could be found in the Bible to measure garments by."

The church on Beaver Creek demurred to James Whitsitt's

James Whitsitt remained under the influence of Mr. Breathitt until the autumn of 1791, when his uncle, James Menees, made a visit from Nashville to several points in Virginia for the purpose of closing up his business affairs. When he was prepared to return home the young man embarked with him and shortly rejoined his kindred in Tennessee. There can be little question that James Menees, Jr., rather than William Breathitt, was the leader of the family; but his influence was highly seconded in this instance by his daughter, Jane Cardwell, whose beauty and charms formed an irresistible appeal. Her cousin James shortly preferred his suit and was accepted, but the marriage was deferred, according to Doctor Howell, until he should find time to make a journey to Virginia in order to adjust certain business affairs of his father's. The autumn of 1792 was a dangerous season to go abroad in that portion of the country, since the Creeks, Cherokees and Shawnees were making preparations for the notable incursion upon the Cumberland settlements, in which they met defeat at Buchanan's Station. But his life was spared from every peril. He returned in safety from Virginia, and on the 13th of December the nuptials were duly celebrated.

I am indebted to the kindness of Major John W. Thomas, of Nashville, for the following copy of the Marriage Bond:

"Territory of the United States of America South of the River Ohio.

"Davidson County SS.

"We James Whitsitt & James Menees Acknowledge Ourselves our heirs &c Jointly & Severally firmly bound unto his Excellency Wm. Blount Esq. Governor of the sd. Territory in the Sum of five hundred pounds Current money &c. To be paid to his sd. Excellency his Successors in Office or Assigns—Conditioned to be Void, If there Shall not hereafter Appear any Lawfull Cause why James Whitsett & Jenny Menees Should not be Joined together in holy Matrimony. Witness our hands and Seals this 10 Day of Decr. 1792.

"JAMES MENEES [L. S.]

"JAMES WHITSITT [L. S.]"

It is supposed that the above marriage was solemnized within the limits of the Fort at Nashville, since, according to Phelan, "the repulse of the Indians by the Buchanan Station people failed to cause even a temporary cessation of their hostilities, and scattered in small bands through the settlements they wrought more

mischievous than when organized." (History of Tennessee, p. 157.) Nevertheless, it is possible that the ceremony may have taken place at the home of James Menees, which was situated on the hill just north of Menees's Spring near Flat Rock in Davidson County. Menees's Spring was a customary designation a century ago for the bold spring that rises near the former seat of Flat Rock Academy, and Menees's Branch for the brook that flows thence into Mill Creek near Hall's Mill. It would be a desirable thing if these ancient names could be restored.

By degrees Mr. Whitsitt's sympathy for Baptist truth and interests began to return, and Doctor Howell declares that in the course of time he forwarded a letter to Rev. Joseph Anthony in which he made satisfactory acknowledgments to Beayer Creek Church and was restored to its fellowship and to his station as a licensed minister. He then went to work and shortly collected a church in Tennessee which was formally recognized in 1797. In the first edition of his "History of the Baptists," Boston, 1813, Doctor David Benedict says: "The church on Mill Creek was the second one raised on the south side of the Cumberland River; it is like that on Richland Creek in the neighborhood of Nashville. The same day the church was constituted, Mr. James Whitsitt, who is a native of Virginia, was ordained as their pastor, in which office he still continues" (Vol. ii, 221). Though the church on Richland Creek preceded Mill Creek in the order of time it has long since become extinct. Mill Creek appears to be the oldest living Baptist organization in that vast region bounded by the Cumberland on the north, the Cumberland Mountains and the Georgia line on the east, the Gulf of Mexico on the south and the Pacific Ocean on the west. It seems to have been constituted at the house of James Menees near Menees's Spring, and to have been removed at a later period to its present site.

List of Pittsylvania Documents.—

1. John Stockton to Benjamin Menees, July 20, 1779, 500 acres for £700.
2. James Menees, Sr., Deed of Gift to Benjamin Menees, April 4, 1783. Witnesses: Peter Field Jefferson, Zeckarias Fuller, Field Jefferson.
3. Benjamin Menees to Elisha Walker, August 16, 1784, for £350, 500 acres.

List of Henry County Documents.—

1. Abraham and Ruth Penn to William Whitsitt, April 1, 1782, 1,350 acres for £500. Witnesses: John Cox, John Staples, William Lynet.
2. James Menees, Sr., Deed of Gift to Elenor Whitsitt, November 12, 1783. Witnesses: Joseph Anthony, Jacob Ferriss and William Whitsitt.
3. William Lovell to William Breatheart, January 28, 1784, 1,000 acres for £100. Witnesses: John Cox, George Hairston, John Newman.
4. William Whitsitt, Deed of Gift of 300 acres to William and Elizabeth Breathhead, February 26, 1784. Witnesses: Robert Stockton, William French, John Watson.
5. Bond of Joseph Anthony as Minister of the Gospel, dated July 27, 1785. Subscribers: Joseph Anthony, James Anthony, William Whitsitt.
6. William Whitsitt to Margaret Blakey, Deed of Gift to 500 acres of land, October, 1788.
7. Abraham Penn and William Whitsitt to Benjamin Jones, 550 acres for £275, dated April 27, 1790.
8. Commission from Henry Court to examine Mrs. Whitsitt about relinquishing dower rights in the above. Issued September 23, 1790, and returned September 25, 1790.
9. George Blakey to Markham Lovell, 300 acres, more or less, January 21, 1790, for £100. Witnesses: Joseph Anthony, William Whitsitt, James Anthony.
10. Commission from Henry Court to examine Mrs. Blakey about relinquishing dower rights in the above. Issued September 23 and returned September 25, 1790.
11. David Watson to William Brethett, 450 acres on Leatherwood Creek for £60, November 9, 1792. Witnesses: John Watson, Samuel Elliott, Henry Laurence.
12. William Brethett to Zachariah Philpott, November 20, 1792, 1,000 acres, for \$150. Witnesses: Shadrack Dent, James Murphy, Charles T. Philpott.
13. William Brethett to Charles Thomas Philpott, July 9, 1793, 300 acres for £300. Witnesses: John Read, James Howard, Saml. Watson. In the body of this deed Mr. and Mrs. Breathitt are said to be "of the County of Cambell and State of Virginia."

14. Commission sent from Henry to Campbell Court to examine Mrs. Breathitt about relinquishing her dower rights in the above. Issued February 24, 1794, and returned September 16, 1799.

15. William Breatheart to John Dowdie, August 10, 1799, 450 acres on Leatherwood Creek for £100.

[To be continued.]

BIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS EMMERSON.

BY HENRY FRANCIS BEAUMONT.

Situated on the highest point in the little mountain town of Jonesboro—distinguished by being the first township organized in the Commonwealth of Tennessee—is the “old cemetery,” the first established in that section; and therein, neglected and forgotten, a matted veil of ivy and other creepers almost entirely obscuring it, is a monument of sandstone upon which is inscribed in letters nearly indecipherable:

Sacred
to the memory of
Thomas Emmerson.
born at
Lawrenceville Courthouse,
Brunswick County, Virginia,
June 23, 1773,
died
July 22, 1837.

Though lamentably brief this inscription contains facts of high value, by means of which the life of a man, who, in his day was one of the most honorable and prominent in East Tennessee, is preserved from sheer oblivion—in that it supplies the alpha and omega of his biography upon which other less important facts, though more interesting, may be hung. This man, Thomas Emmerson, a native of Virginia and an adopted son of the Volunteer State, was a member of the first board of aldermen of Knoxville, was the first mayor of that city, was a charter trustee of the East Tennessee College, which is the University of Tennessee to day, was afterwards its secretary for eight years, was a charter trustee of Hampden-Sydney Academy, and of the Knoxville Female Academy also, was a commissioner for the establishment of the original Bank of Knoxville, was a member of the

State Superior Court, thence sat upon the bench of the Supreme Court and in addition bore other honors and distinctions, in many ways having won title to rank amid the great men of Tennessee. Judge Thomas Emmerson came to Tennessee in 1800, and the fact that he was a man of extraordinary character is borne out by his having been a member of the District Court of Virginia, his native State, before he came to this State, even though he was then only twenty-seven years of age. Born of the landed gentry of the Old Dominion State, with the red blood of the Cavalier coursing through his veins, better educated than the ordinary man of that day, his seeking for recognition of his talent and ability was quickly rewarded.

Knoxville, Knox County, Tennessee, was founded in 1786 by Colonel James White. The town was incorporated on October 27, 1815, and on January 13, 1816, about three months later, the first meeting of the board of aldermen of the new township was held. Thomas Emmerson, James Dardis, Thomas McCorry, Rufus Morgan, James Park, Thos. W. Humes, and John M. Cullen composed the board—from that body and by its action the first named being chosen as mayor. Thomas Emmerson had been appointed a trustee of the East Tennessee College, the immediate successor to Barbara Blount College and the immediate predecessor to the University of Tennessee, in 1807; and the same year had been appointed to a seat upon the bench of the Superior Court of the State—in the latter capacity serving until the abolition of the court by the enactment, dated November 16, 1809, which established the State Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals. He had also been serving as secretary of the East Tennessee College, from 1812, his service lasting eight years; and in 1811 had become trustee for both the Hampden-Sydney Academy and the Knoxville Female Academy, demonstrating the prominent part taken by him in the affairs of the community. His appointment to a commissionership for the foundation of the Bank of Knoxville, chartered as "the Bank of the State of Tennessee," in the same year, further establishes his public character; hence there is little doubt but that his election to the mayoralty of Knoxville was a popular and wise choice. While filling this office Judge Emmerson was also serving upon the bench of the

First Circuit Court, 1816-1818, and in 1819 he became an associate justice of the Supreme judiciary, serving for four years and thence, at the age of forty-nine, retiring and establishing his residence in Jonesboro, then a village of much importance in that section.

With a large legal practice and with a fine farm near-by the town, Judge Emmerson lived a life of activity, though one of which there is no record in detail, until 1833, when he purchased the *Washington Republican and Farmer's Journal*, which was being published at Jonesboro. He acted as editor of this paper from 1833 to 1837, associated with him being Honorable S. W. J. Lucky, who was afterward, from 1845 to 1847, judge of the Circuit Court. Mr. Lucky acted as business manager of the paper. Previous to his entrance upon editorial duties Judge Emmerson had taken much interest in the improvement of the agricultural methods and resources of East Tennessee—he and Honorable David A. Deaderick having introduced the first cast-iron plow to that section—and Judge Emmerson devoted much attention to such topics in the publication, with the result that the *Washington Republican and Farmer's Journal* was very successful at the time of his death, July 22, 1837, the sixty-fourth year of his age.

In the April, 1903, number of the *American Historical Magazine*, an article by myself was printed bearing upon this same subject—Judge Thomas Emmerson—in which additional information as to his birth and death, his people and his life, were besought. That article inspired such correspondence as to develop the new facts embodied in this, and with which are woven practically all that is known of the man by the men of to-day. Colonel John S. Mathes, author of "Governors of Tennessee," said, in a letter:

"The inscription upon the grave of Judge Emmerson [as quoted already] is almost illegible and one without knowledge of what should be there could not decipher it. Beside the grave of Judge Emmerson is that of his estimable wife, who was born in Wilks County, North Carolina, and who died in Jonesboro in 1858, at the age of sixty-nine. The marble monument above her grave is of Italian stone and is almost perfect in contour and lettering. There in that silent city of the dead, the "old

cemetery" of Jonesboro, are buried others known to fame, among whom are Colonel John A. Aiken, gifted and eloquent, who made the race against Andrew Johnson for Congress in 1843; General A. E. Jackson; brilliant W. E. Munsey; Chief Justice J. W. Deaderick. Congressman John Blair and Samuel Cunningham Blair—the latter the first president of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railway, now the Southern System—are also buried there."

Judge Thomas Emmerson left a son, Thomas Emmerson II, who married a Miss Green, of Washington County, and by whom there are one or two of the name living to-day. Ada Emmerson, granddaughter of Judge Emmerson, married E. A. Broyles, of Knoxville; and John L. Davis, a wealthy coal operator of the same place, is a cousin of hers, but with these exceptions there are no descendants of Judge Emmerson—the man whose scholarship and wisdom won such high honors in a period when such qualities were not fully recognized—living to-day.

JACKSON'S ATTITUDE IN THE SEMINOLE WAR.

BY DAVID Y. THOMAS, CONWAY, ARK.

The Seminoles were a nation of Indians composed chiefly of Creeks who had left their own tribes in Georgia, many of them as refugees, to mingle with other tribes in Florida. These, together with runaway negroes from Georgia and South Carolina, were employed by British officers in their operations on our Southern border in the War of 1812. Even after the restoration of peace with England some British officers, without warrant from the British government, continued to foment trouble. At the close of the war they abandoned a fort which they had built about fifteen miles above the mouth of the Apalachicola river, leaving it well stocked with arms and ammunition. This the negroes seized upon and made it their headquarters. In 1816 this "Negro Fort," as it came to be known, became a source of great anxiety to the American military authorities and to the citizens of Georgia, consequently it was invested and destroyed. During the year 1817 collisions between whites and Indians were frequent on the frontier. Spain was engaged in war with her revolted colonies at the time and could do but little in the way of policing the country, which she had promised to do¹. In November General Gaines summoned the suspected Seminole chief of the village called Fowltown, which was situated on lands claimed by the United States, to appear before him that he might know "whether his hostile temper had abated."² Upon his refusal a detachment was sent out which captured the village, killing four Indians. Proof being found that the Fowltown chief was in league with the Florida filibusters, the village was burned by order of General Gaines. This was said by ex-Governor Mitchell, of Georgia, to have been the cause of the Seminole war.³ In nine days it was followed by a terrible

¹See *Treaties and Conventions*, p. 1007.²*Sumner's Andrew Jackson*, p. 55; Schouler, *His. of U. S.*, III, 60.³*Niles' Register*, XVI, 85.

act of retaliation. A large, open boat, containing about forty soldiers and several women and children, was attacked from ambush while ascending the river and all its occupants but five were killed.

As to the party on whom rested the chief blame, there was, as is usual, "something to be said on both sides." Ex-Governor Mitchell says that acts of violence were committed by the whites as well as by Indians, and that a spirit of retaliation mutually prevailed, but believes that the first outrage was committed by a band of outlaws who had taken refuge on both sides of St. Mary's River.¹ The British General Nicholls had taught the Creek refugees that under the Treaty of Ghent the lands which their people had surrendered to the United States as a penalty for the war they had waged were to be restored to them. Sumner² says that there was so much room for this construction that diplomatic measures were necessary to set it aside, but the writer has not been able to find any support for this statement. There were some oral communications with the British government in regard to the matter, but they did not arise from any misunderstanding of the treaty; they were protests against the arbitrary conduct of Nicholls, whose acts were promptly disavowed. Moreover, it does not appear that the interpretation put upon the treaty by the British government, so far as it related to this matter, ever differed from that of our own.³ But, granting that the Indians were the dupes of Nicholls, who put this construction on the treaty, and of other adventurers who infested the borders, especially in East Florida, the United States could not, for that reason, allow their raids to go unpunished. Keeping in mind the part played by these instigators and the fact that Spain could not fulfill her treaty obligations in restraining the Indians will, I think, help us to find an explanation, I will not say justification, of Jackson's later conduct. It must also be remembered that he was not at all averse to invading Spanish territory.⁴

¹ Niles' Register, XVI, 85.

² Andrew Jackson. p. 59.

Upon receipt of the news of the capture of Fowltown and of the attack on the open boat, the administration ordered General Jackson to take command in Georgia. Before he had received his marching orders he wrote to President Monroe: "Let it be signified to me through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea) that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished."¹ His orders, now on the way, were to proceed to the seat of war and take command, observing the restrictions already imposed on his predecessor, General Gaines. He might cross the Florida line, if necessary, in pursuit of his flying enemy, could they be reached in no other way, but on no account was he to molest a Spanish post without further orders from the War Department. Jackson's letter is said not to have been read by the President for a year or more after its receipt, owing to the fact that he was sick at the time.²

In obedience to orders Jackson hastened to Georgia, taking with him about 1,000 Tennesseans whom he had enlisted on his own responsibility in the absence of the governor, and by March 1818, was on the frontier of Florida, driving the Seminoles before him. In the neighborhood of Tallahassee he burned a few Seminole villages, and appearing before St. Mark's, the only Spanish post in the vicinity, demanded the right to garrison it with his own troops while the war lasted. The Spanish commandant replied that he would write for authority to admit the troops, but Jackson seized it at once and went on with his work. After remaining there two days, during which time he captured by stratagem and hung two Redstick chiefs, he proceeded to the Sewanee River where he captured another village, but the Indians escaped to the swamps. This ended the war.

But it was not the end of trouble over the war. At St. Mark's Jackson captured a Scotchman named Arbuthnot, and at Sewanee an Englishman named Ambrister, both of whom were tried for complicity in the war, condemned and executed. After leaving St. Mark's Jackson repaired to Ft. Gadsden, where he heard that about five hundred and fifty Indians had gathered at Pen-

¹ See Sumner's *Andrew Jackson*, p. 56; Schouler, IV, 68.

² Schouler, III, 69.

sacola, were fed by the governor and had murdered and plundered citizens of the United States.¹ He immediately set out against Pensacola, paying no attention to a warning from the governor to quit West Florida or "meet force with force." With only a show of resistance he entered Pensacola May 24, and the next day attacked Fort Barrancas, where the governor had taken refuge. This was captured in two days and the officers of the government, civil and military, were transported to Havana. General Jackson then set up a new government, proclaimed the revenue laws of the United States as "more favorable to our commerce,"² appointed Captain Gadsden collector, and left for Nashville.

Sumner says that "Jackson's proceedings were based on two positive but arbitrary assumptions: (1) That the Indians got aid and encouragement from St. Mark's and Pensacola. (2) That Great Britain kept paid emissaries in Florida to stir up trouble for the United States. This latter assumption was a matter of profound belief generally in the United States."³

Neither assumption has anything to do with Jackson's illegal enlistment of troops and appointment of officers in Tennessee.* But this is readily explained when we consider that it was a characteristic of Jackson to act on his own responsibility in emergencies, disregarding legal forms where they crossed his purpose. Nor do they apply to his execution of the two Indian chiefs. "They had tortured and massacred prisoners after the Indian fashion, but no one has ever explained by what law or usage known in the service of the United States they were put to death, when thus captured by stratagem, and not even on the field of battle."⁵ But the bearing of these assumptions on his other acts is close.

In the first place, it required no very lax interpretation of the orders he had received to justify an invasion of Spanish territory. His capture of the Spanish posts may possibly be viewed as carrying out his plan to get possession of Florida which he

¹ *McMaster, Hist. U. S., 445; Adams & Brown, Eng. Hist., IV, 400.*

had suggested to President Monroe and which he supposed was supported by the administration.¹ But this cannot be pressed far. He did not take St. Mark's until he had evidence that it was aiding the Indians,² or at least was unable to resist them. Nor does he appear to have had any designs on Pensacola until he heard that Indians were sheltered there.³ But he had no orders to interfere with these; on the other hand he was expressly forbidden to do so. The proper thing to do then was to report conditions and await further orders. But Jackson does not seem to have thought of such a thing; indeed, it was altogether inconsistent with his temper. In his memorial of justification addressed to the Senate he plead wide discretionary powers;² but it is probable that only his success and the fact that he was an old hero enabled him to get off so easy.

As to the execution of Arbuthnot, Sumner says that there was no evidence at all against him on any of the charges on which he was condemned.⁴ He accuses Niles, who published an account of the trial, of being an extreme partisan of Jackson. We may with equal fairness accuse Mr. Sumner of being a hostile critic. He even goes to the extent of saying that there never was any proof that anybody incited the Indians.⁵ This sounds strange, not to say contradictory, after he had said, just three pages before, that Ambrister was tried for "inciting the Indians and crying war," and that he threw himself on the mercy of the court. To say that a general arrested and executed two men without the slightest proof of guilt and that his action went unrebuked by the authorities is a serious charge and should have

¹ Jackson afterward claimed to have received such a letter from Mr. Rhea, but it was never produced. Sumner's Jackson, p. 56.

² Amer. S. Papers, Mil. Af., I, 755.

³ For charges and proof against the Spanish the reader is referred to Jackson's letter to Governor Macot, and to other attested letters in the Amer. S. Pap., Mil. Af., I, 712ff. See also McMaster, IV, 450. In his reply to ours, Secretary Adams said: "The charges alleged by General Jackson against the commandant at St. Mark's are not known to have been denied. The Governor of Pensacola has *partly*, and but partly, contradicted those which applied to himself." *a*

a Amer. S. Pap., Foreign Relations, IV, 499.

⁴ Andrew Jackson, p. 59.

⁵ Ibid., p. 63.

its basis in fact. It is probable that the most guilty man, Nicholls, escaped; but there is some evidence, though somewhat circumstantial, against Arbuthnot.

It is generally agreed that a letter to his son warning him of Jackson's approach was read to the Indians at Sewanee and caused their escape.¹ This action was not criminal in itself, but this question, which the writer has not seen referred to elsewhere, naturally arises: If he was not hostile to the Americans, why should he warn his son to be off with his property? A man captured at Sewanee swore that Arbuthnot had supplied the Indians with munitions of war. This evidence was given by a former clerk and may or may not have been prompted by malice. However, a perusal of Arbuthnot's letters¹ rather inclines one to regard him simply as a friend of the Indians who, in his opinion, were being mistreated. Certainly the evidence against him does not seem to have warranted his execution.

The case against Ambrister is stronger. The details of his capture vary somewhat. Jackson says that he "was actually taken in arms against the forces of the United States."² McMaster says that he and three other men came upon the camp unexpectedly in the night, being ignorant of the presence of troops in the vicinity.³ But whatever the manner of his capture, he plead guilty to the charge of leading the Indians and alleged justification, but was condemned to be shot. Upon motion, the tribunal commuted this to fifty lashes and a year of hard labor. But Jackson disapproved of this and ordered the original sentence to be carried out.⁴

The law laid down by Jackson in his order for the execution was to the effect: "It is an established principle of the laws of nations that any individual of a nation making war against the citizens of another nation, they being at peace, forfeits his allegiance, and becomes an outlaw and pirate; this is the case of Robert C. Ambrister, clearly shown by the evidence adduced"⁵

¹ Amer. S. Pap., Mil. Af., I, pp. 722ff; 15 Niles' Register, 270f.

² Ibid., p. 758.

By what law Arbuthnot was hung does not appear, for he is not specifically mentioned in this as was Ambrister.

Such a proposition is too monstrous to be discussed. The proper thing to do was to settle the status of the Indians, for those taking part with them certainly shared their rights and privileges, whatever they were. The majority report of the House Committee to which was referred that part of the President's message bearing on the trials declares: "It is admitted, as a maxim of the law of nations, that 'where the war is with a savage nation, which observes no rules, and never gives quarter, we may punish them in the persons of any of their people whom we may take (these belong to the number of the guilty) . . .'" To this the minority report adds: ". . . and the citizens or subjects of any civilized nation, by engaging in their warfare, . . . thereby identifying themselves with the savages . . . and are, by the true and acknowledged principles of the laws of nations, subject to the same treatment."² What were their rights and privileges?

Sumner admits that the Creeks were not a nation, that there had been no declaration of war; "yet they were," says he, "not rebels against the United States, and it could not be denied that they had some belligerent rights." It is very hard to see what belligerent rights those who had made marauding expeditions across the border had, for by that act they became outlaws. However, those who had not crossed the border deserved some consideration. In the case of Indians it might have been hard to draw distinctions, but in the case of white men found among them, but not actually engaged with those who had made depredations, there certainly was need of caution. In the words of the Lacock report, "Humanity shudders at the idea of a cold-blooded execution of prisoners [white or Indian, we may add] disarmed and in the power of the conqueror."³

But Jackson was not the man to trouble himself about fine distinctions. When satisfied of a man's guilt he seems to have sought only evidence to convict, not to clear. When his pas-

¹ Amer. S. Pap., Mil. Af., I, p. 735.

² Ibid., p. 738; see also Lacock Report, p. 743.

³ Andrew Jackson, p. 63.

sions impelled him to a certain course of action, points of law, civil or moral, were not likely to prove strong barriers. Schouler sums up his attitude in the Seminole War in a single sentence: "Jackson adopted the course of seizing and punishing first, leaving to the administration only the choice of releasing from the indignity inflicted."¹ But alas, there was no release for a dead man.

¹ His. U. S., III., 75.



Augustin Sattinger oct. 76.

DR. AUGUSTIN GATTINGER.

Nearly sixty years ago two German youths, students at the University of Munich, were making a tour of the surrounding country during their vacation with a view to learning in a practical manner the science of botany that was being taught them in their university. They were walking, as the manner is and was with students of the great German schools, and found much to enlist their attention. Traveling day by day they constantly found plants new to them, and gathered specimens for their herbaria. As they journeyed together and studied the seemingly innumerable forms of plant life, one day they stopped at an ancient moss-covered milestone which was coated with lichens of many varieties. As they were removing specimens and commenting on their size, one of them said to the other: "Botany is too large a science for one man; let us divide the work while we go along, and each give attention to one part." This was agreed to, and the youth known as Ferdinand decided that he would study the mosses and lichens, while the other plant forms should be studied by Augustin, his companion. So the vacation was spent.

After returning to the university circumstances separated the two companions, and one came across the wide Atlantic to America, while the other remained at the university, lived all his life in Germany and died in Munich. His choice of the mosses and lichens as a special field in botany was retained, and year by year he studied and collected. He lived many years, dying in Munich August 8, 1901, and when he died a book was written telling of his life, and especially of his achievements as a botanist. In the special field of mosses and lichens he had become the acknowledged authority of all countries, had the largest and nearest to completion of all the collections in the world of mosses and lichens. His life work had been with these two forms of plant life, and he had won the highest place. That man was Ferdinand Arnold.

It was in telling me of this that the other of the two who had

been fellow students together, Doctor Augustin Gattinger, said, and said without regret that I could trace in tone or manner: "See what I also might have accomplished had I remained in Germany." But Doctor Gattinger's was no empty or unfruitful life. He was a botanist of distinction and so acknowledged by leading botanists and botanical societies throughout the world. He was the first State Botanist of Tennessee, and the last till now. He did much for his adopted State in this direction, and his work will some day receive the recognition which it deserves—recognition as yet given in a very imperfect degree. And as a physician, which was his real life work, he left a good name with all who knew of him.

The man of science does not pursue science wholly for the remuneration there is in it. Were it so, he would scarcely pursue it at all. Few of the great scientists of the world have made any splendid financial success of their pursuit. And many of them, as did Doctor Gattinger, have pursued their scientific bent in hours when they could take brief respite from the struggle for the material benefits of life. Doctor Gattinger was a botanist for the love of it; he was a physician by profession, and in that vocation fortunately attained such rank and income as allowed him time and means for botany.

Augustin Gattinger was born in Munich, Bavaria, on the third day of February, 1825, and spent his youth in his native land. He was the son of August and Rosa Gattinger, both of Munich. His father was an important official of the Government, being the receiver of the moneys due the Crown from the States or principalities. Of that father he retained but the memories of a boy of seven, his father dying in 1832. Yet his memories were of the happiest. On his seventh birthday anniversary his father gave him a handsome silver spoon, and this memento he kept to the last day of his life. Such was the tenderness with which he clung to his father's memory that from the time when he received the gift in February, 1832, till the last time he appeared at his own table in July, 1903, a period of over seventy-one years, he would never eat a meal unless that spoon were by his plate. His father died just after Augustin reached the age of seven, and that birthday gift was the last event in his father's life that he remembered.

The widowed mother took pains to educate him to be of use to himself and to the community; at an early age Augustin was sent to school, and after the Latin school and the gymnasium, he went to the University of Munich to study medicine. He had attended at the university during the middle of that decade which proved most disastrous to the German patriots. Liberty and progress were sought by them in ways not approved by the government, and meetings of discontented citizens were frequent, the purpose being to deliberate on joint action to secure safer and better means of emigration to the United States of America. In 1849 one meeting was held in Munich which was attended by two hundred substantial citizens, artists, professional men, mechanics, farmers, people of good standing in society and amply provided with means, as a result of which many during that year came to America. Another meeting shortly after was fateful to young Gattinger.

Washington's Farewell Address had been translated into German, and had then attracted unusual attention among the educated and thinking men. The students at the German universities were particularly fond of speaking parts of it, and declaiming it whenever the occasion offered. Their enthusiasm fanned by what they believed to be the popular feeling, the students of the University of Munich resolved on a grand celebration of the twenty-second of February, a solemn fete in honor of Washington's birthday. Such a proceeding had never been heard of before in Munich, but it was so fully in accord with the prevailing sentiments of the liberal party among the students that it was a tremendous success. Washington's Farewell Address was read; there were speeches and eulogies on Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and other American heroes, who were lauded fervently and unreservedly. It was the sensation in Munich, and elsewhere in Bavaria, as well.

This open avowal of admiration for republican institutions and republican thinkers was too conspicuous to be passed over in silence by the government; nor was it ignored. The university authorities first considered it, and summoned the leading student participants before them. In anticipation of what was forthcoming a number of them left the city without appearing before the university authorities. Those who did appear were punished

according to the part they had played in the celebration. Among those requested to withdraw from the university without delay was Augustin Gattinger. He had barely left the university when the Government notified him that since he was so ardent an admirer of George Washington and the other Americans whom he had lauded at the celebration he would be given seven days in which to leave Bavaria for America or for whatever other part of the world he should prefer, so that it be beyond the confines of Germany.

He made his preparations instantly. His sweetheart lived in Munich and to her he went with the question whether she would marry him and go with him to America. She consented to do so. This brave and loyal woman was Josephine Dury, a daughter of Nicholas and Augusta Dury, of Munich, and a sister of George Dury, then a young artist of ability, and rising in the esteem of the art world. When Gattinger and Miss Dury had agreed to unite their destinies and come to the great American republic, George Dury also sought out his sweetheart and asked her to come with him to the new world, as companions for his sister and her husband. She too consented, and so love mitigated the distress of leaving the ancestral home. The four met at the American Consulate of Havre, were married by the American Consul on the 24th of April, 1849, and sailed on the day of their wedding for America.

A little more than three months later, then, the party of four came to Dalton, Ga., then the terminus of the Georgia & South Carolina Railroad, and thence rode to Chattanooga, Tenn., by stage, arriving there in July, 1849. They were fascinated by the scenery, but Chattanooga then was but a small town with a few inferior houses, and so they went further on. Taking passage on a little steamboat they rode three days and came to Kingston, on the Clinch River. The clean and airy little place delighted them no less than the friendliness of the people, and so they made it their headquarters while exploring the vicinity. With

ment because they had not calculated the chances of deriving any income from it. They found it impossible to make the place yield returns for their labor and sold it at a considerable loss.

During the stay at Cave Spring, however, the transition from the bustling German metropolis to such a quiet retreat had been a stimulus to the scientific tendency of Doctor Gattinger's mind, and all the time that he could take from professional duties and horseback riding in pursuit of those duties, he gave to the study of the botany and geology of the country surrounding him. He had had to give two years to these studies at Munich, where it was obligatory to take a course of natural sciences—chemistry, mineralogy, and botany—before being admitted to the medical department. This two years' course in general and medicinal botany initiated him, so to speak, into the science; but he had from his earlier school years been a botanical collector, and had already given a great deal of time to the study of botany before entering the university.

After the reluctant but enforced abandonment of Cave Spring Doctor Gattinger acquired some property in Charleston, Bradley County, Tenn., where he still practiced medicine and studied botany. There he remained until he accepted, in 1858, the position of resident surgeon at the copper mines at Ducktown, Tenn. Situated in the high mountains of East Tennessee, adjoining North Carolina and Georgia, this new situation was socially very agreeable, and moderately remunerative; it also possessed for the botanist and geologist so many and so diversified points of interest that the lifetime of a competent investigator could not exhaust the possibilities, could not solve all the problems and collect all the various plants, minerals and rocks. A prominent member of the United States Geological Survey, who was acquainted with this region, assured Doctor Gattinger in a letter received shortly before his death that in the entire area of the United States he knew of no part which in an equal territory possessed so great a diversity and complication of structure. Here, then, Doctor Gattinger utilized industriously his great opportunity, although with great diffidence, as he stated in an autobiographical sketch prefixed to his last work, for want of scientific botanical literature, especially of the American literature bearing on this science. But he spent practically fifteen years

in the saddle; he traversed more than one-half of East Tennessee, including the Cumberland Mountains and all the valleys between Walden's Ridge and Smoky Mountain, and held in his mind a well connected panorama of the natural vista at every season of the year. He was entirely happy, because he loved the work he was doing. Placed as he was among unfamiliar modes of life, without access to libraries, with no information about the condition and advance of scientific affairs, his progress was necessarily slow and tedious, but he kept up the pursuit which had from his schoolboy days been a source of pleasure and consolation.

But when he had grown to believe himself possessed of a permanent occupation conjoined with moderate recompense and quiet enjoyment of intellectual and useful pursuits, it came suddenly to pass that he had to assume his share of the turmoils and convulsions of the Civil War. Doctor Gattinger, like nearly every one who came to America during the three decades immediately preceding the war, was bitterly opposed to the disruption of the Union; he had observed the troubles of a great nation split into petty principalities as Germany was for centuries, and believed that he saw in the growing greatness of his adopted country, and in its form of government, the future liberation of all nationalities through its physical power and moral influence. He advocated the cause of the Union with such vigor as to cause great displeasure to his former friends—so great displeasure that he found it advisable to leave his home and part with his family. On a cold, starry March night, with no money, with a small satchel as traveling outfit, he made his way on foot through the Ocoee gorge, and reached the town of Cleveland, forty miles distant, without an accident, and uncertain of his ultimate destination.

Claiming the protection of the Government in which he had placed his faith, that Government took him under its care, sent him to Nashville, and put him into service as an assistant surgeon, after he had passed a rigid examination before the Board of United States Medical Examiners. He disposed of his property in East Tennessee and brought his family to Nashville in 1864. After the expiration of his term of service as assistant surgeon, and after recovery from a severe malarial fever, which

temporarily disabled him for army duties, he accepted from Andrew Johnson, then military governor of Tennessee, the position of State Librarian. This position he held five years, and thereby found opportunities for greatly improving his acquaintance with American scientific literature. He added to the library many scientific works of the higher character, both in English and German, particularly in botany, geology and philosophy. He also found such helps in making collections as he never before or afterwards enjoyed, visiting all portions of the State. The military superintendent of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railway, General William T. Innes, granted to Doctor Gattinger the privilege of using all trains, both passenger and freight, at all points, for travel. This permit continued for four years, until the administration of the railroad was changed, and when Doctor Gattinger was also succeeded by another State Librarian. He made good use of this opportunity of becoming more familiar with the flora of Tennessee, and became a figure in the botanical world. He was State Librarian until 1869, during which year he had erected the house in which he passed the remaining years of his life.

In 1869, while watching the workmen blasting out for the cellar of the house he was erecting, and in which he spent the remainder of his life, a blast threw out almost at Doctor Gattinger's feet a rare and beautiful fossil which he had never before seen and which has so far proved unique. It was a shell belonging to the subdivision *Pteropoda*, and when shown to Doctor J. M. Safford, then State Geologist, he gave it the name of the discoverer, calling it *Conularia Gattingeri*. This fossil much resembles *Conularia Trentonensis*, but is very much larger than any specimen before seen by Doctor Safford, the original being about ten inches long. The tapering end of the fossil for an inch or more was broken off, and Doctor Gattinger's diligent search among all the fragments of rock that had been blasted out from the bed was unavailing; the longed-for missing end could not be found. Owing to the very unusual beauty of the specimen and the fact that it was unique many requests for casts were made by scientific museums and societies and they were furnished. One of these casts is in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. The original fossil is still in possession of the family.

Doctor Gattinger carried on correspondence, which he gradually enlarged, during his service as State Librarian, with prominent botanists in all parts of the United States, and so was getting in touch with the great scientific world of which he had at first felt the need. His collections were always much in request for exchange, as they contained many novelties and were well prepared. By these exchanges he rapidly built up a magnificent herbarium. Middle Tennessee was an unexplored region botanically and to Doctor Gattinger belongs the honor of being the pioneer in this rich field. From the time of his removal to this section of the State he had paid special attention to the exploration of the vicinity of Nashville and the adjoining counties. At the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in Nashville in 1877, Doctor Gattinger took an interested part and entertained the visiting botanists by taking them on many enjoyable little excursions in this vicinity. Impressed by his earnestness and learning and by the rich collections he had already made, the botanical division of the Association encouraged him to prepare a catalogue of plants or flora of Tennessee, which he was assured would be received favorably by all American botanists. They assured him that a botanical survey of the then unexplored region of Tennessee would be much appreciated by them, and that it would also be a most valuable contribution to science. He consented to undertake the work, and at once redoubled his exertions. It was but a continuation of his work after all, but a continuation towards an end which he had not previously hoped to reach. He took added pains to make the work true and reliable, with the ultimate hope of making worthy of general acceptance the one contribution to American science that he felt was possible to him.

After ten more years of work and study he fulfilled his obligation in 1887 by publishing a small volume of 109 pages, containing a systematic enumeration of seventeen hundred and eight species. It was printed at his own expense and distributed

Professor J. W. Chickering, Jr., and Professor Lester F. Ward, both of Washington, D. C., whose advice and attention Doctor Gattinger always said had put him under lasting obligations to them. This meeting was also the beginning of his acquaintance with Doctor Asa Gray, of Cambridge, to whom he enjoyed the privilege of sending doubtful specimens for his decision. Doctor Engelmann, Doctor Chapman and Doctor Vasey also accorded him the privilege.

Before the publication of Doctor Gattinger's "Tennessee Flora" authentic published records bearing on the flora of the State had been but few. The number was possibly limited to two—Doctor Asa Gray contributed to *Sullivan's Journal* during 1841 a sketch of a botanical tour through the Alleghenies and Roan Mountain, and in the *Botanical Gazette* of December, 1880, Professor J. W. Chickering had printed an article descriptive of "A Summer on Roan Mountain." It was an often-expressed regret of Doctor Gattinger that Doctor Rugel, who about the middle of the nineteenth century resided in the vicinity of Greeneville and made valuable collections and discoveries in that vicinity and through the mountains of East Tennessee and North Carolina, died without leaving a record of his work. Doctor Rugel's collections went into the possession of a Mr. Shuttleworth, of England. *Senecio Rugelii* Gray, *Plantago Rugelii* Decaisne, *Siphonychia Rugelii* Chapman commemorate the name of this able botanical worker and investigator.

The publication of Doctor Gattinger's first book, therefore, was in reality an important scientific event. It naturally helped Doctor Gattinger very much in the furtherance of his ultimate purpose, as it brought together all persons within the State who had an interest in botany, and had collected more or less. With this catalogue in hand, every collector in Tennessee was enabled to see whether or not it contained all the species which he had found himself, and he could then report to Doctor Gattinger his own discoveries. Many of those who were thus aided by the publication of the "Tennessee Flora" in their turn aided Doctor Gattinger in completing the botanical record of the State as set down in his final edition.

culture of the State, in the publication of his work on the Tennessee grasses and forage plants; for this he furnished the list of grasses actually collected by himself, and revised the manuscript. In the same year he prepared a publication on the trees and shrubs suitable to the soil and climate of Nashville, this work having been undertaken and carried out at the request of the Board of Health of the city of Nashville.

For the census of 1880 Doctor Gattinger collected for Professor Sargent, the superintendent of the botanical division of the census, specimens of the timbers of Tennessee. He also collected for the mineral division of the same census the building stones of the State, with the exclusion of the marbles. This collection consisted of forty pairs of cubes, all of different character, each cube measuring four inches. This was the first time that the granites of Tennessee had ever been brought to notice in beautiful specimens. The same collection contained the sandstones of the State—including the beautiful white sandstones from the Hiwassee Valley—and the argillites, conglomerates, slates, and limestones; among them the oölitic or Bowling Green stone, which is used in the construction of the Custom House at Nashville.

In 1883 Doctor Gattinger was engaged by Captain A. J. McWhirter, then Commissioner of Agriculture for the State, as an assistant in his office, in collecting minerals, building stones and plants for the Louisville Exposition and other exhibitions. This appointment was the occasion of some editorial discussion in certain newspapers of the State, the claim being made that Doctor Gattinger, on account of his being a Republican, was not the proper man to appoint. The action of Commissioner McWhirter was defended on the high ground that in naming Doctor Gattinger the purpose had been to get a man likely to render the most efficient service to the State. As was correctly pointed out in the *Nashville World* of June 9, 1883, Doctor Gattinger was "one of the most scholarly and learned men in the State, and possessed of a most wonderful fund of learning and information. As a geologist he has no superior anywhere, and he is moreover an enthusiastic botanist and a skilled and learned physician. It was these eminently lofty qualifications which induced the commissioner to make the appointment, and the fact

that the doctor was a Republican and formerly an office-holder under Brownlow did not deter Commissioner McWhirter from obtaining the services of the eminent savant for the benefit of the State. It is a most worthy example of the manner in which non-political offices should be filled and reflects on the commissioner the highest credit for having disregarded everything but the interest and scientific advancement of the State in all that regards his department."

After the close of these exhibitions Doctor Gattinger again retired from office. He was most industrious in the work assigned him, and fully justified the confidence that had led to his appointment. Among many things he wrote in connection with this work was one particularly entertaining two-column article printed in the *Nashville World* of September 23, 1883, descriptive of the exhibit of Tennessee marbles at the Louisville Exposition.

F. Lampson Scribner, of the United States Agricultural Department, was one of the many warm botanical friends who took great interest in Doctor Gattinger, and he paid him high tribute for his effective work in a lecture on Southern Botanists which he delivered in Knoxville in May, 1889. He afterwards wrote that his reference to Doctor Gattinger had been greeted with indications of enthusiastic approval.

Doctor Gattinger believed it the duty of every good citizen to do all in his power to advance the interests of his home city. In the line of his own work as geologist he gave especial examination to the stones of the State with the purpose of finding those best suited to paving the city streets. In 1881 he had done much of this investigation, and continued it for several years afterwards. He labored diligently and made a report to the city under date of August 13, 1881, of the stones which he had found best adapted to paving purposes. While nothing then resulted from the time and labor thus expended, it showed the disposition he always manifested to lend his influence to the improvement of conditions existing around him.

Believing in absolute correctness in all things, he did not hesitate to call attention to whatever he thought incorrect. An instance of this is his objection to the Latin inscription placed on the cornerstone of a Catholic Church erected years before his death. He copied the inscription and printed it in a Nashville

daily paper, followed by the same inscription with the changes which to his mind should have been made before the words were cut into the stone. The errors he ascribed to the present day faulty teaching of Latin.

In a letter written to a friend something over a year before his death, Doctor Gattinger spoke of the years he had spent in Tennessee, saying they had not been years of favor, but rather of endurance: "My life has been a school of endurance. My bad luck culminated in 1892, when a Nashville savings bank succeeded in robbing me of the meager earnings of a meager practice, which might have alleviated the end of my days, and would have given me a chance to review my former work."

In 1894 Honorable T. F. P. Allison, Commissioner of Agriculture, entrusted Doctor Gattinger with the preparation of a publication on the medicinal plants of Tennessee. The work was completed to the satisfaction of all concerned, and is a most valuable addition to the State's literature. It is now very rare, and will every year be more valuable as a work of reference and a manual of preparation, as well as on account of its scarcity.

In 1897 Doctor Gattinger was connected with the Tennessee Centennial Exposition as a member of the Department of Minerals and Mines, of which Doctor J. M. Safford was chairman. He procured among other things a rich collection of the copper ores and smelting products of the Ducktown mines and smelting works, inclusive of a rich display of ingots. He also exhibited a large collection of Tennessee granites in blocks, with one side polished, from Wolf Creek, Carter County, and from near Elizabethton on the line of the railroad which extends from Johnson City to the Cranberry mines in North Carolina. These were among the most attractive exhibits in the Minerals and Forestry Building.

The Centennial Exposition was an enterprise in which Doctor Gattinger was intensely interested. He was in attendance almost without missing a day when the pressure of his professional duties would permit. He was a student of it as a whole, and saw many of the higher lessons which it should have taught to all. Not long before his death he wrote a letter to the Director General of the Exposition, Major E. C. Lewis, in which he expressed some of the convictions resulting from the Exposition,

in the light of subsequent thought. He particularly referred to the subject of parks. In this connection he expressed regret that the amount appropriated by the General Assembly for the publication of his latest edition of the "Flora" was not sufficient to print the whole work as he had designed it, but that to come within the limits of the appropriation he had had to omit his treatise on "Parks and Gardens: Their Ethical Influence on Public Life and Their Sanitary Effect." The Centennial Exposition had really inspired him to the completion of this portion of his work, which he had already long had in contemplation, and on which he had previously done some work.

In this letter he gives some interesting facts concerning the city of Munich, which has one of the most beautiful city parks in the world, a park designed, and planted with American trees in the eighteenth century by Count Rumford. This remarkable personage was a citizen of Massachusetts, where he was known by the prosaic name of Thompson, but emigrated to England and became the founder of the Royal Academy of England. Accepting the call of the Prince Elector of Bavaria, he reconstructed there the financial and military systems of Bavaria and became a great benefactor to the people in making them acquainted with many then new improvements.

In this same letter Doctor Gattinger also recalls the fact that his earliest plant collecting as a little child was the gathering of violets at the foot of a great monument erected by the grateful citizens of Munich in memory of Count Rumford.

It was no doubt to this time of his life that his memory wandered back one day in June, 1902, when he came into the office of Mr. Morton B. Howell, a long-time friend of Doctor Gattinger, and said that he felt much depressed. Seating himself by the desk he took one of Mr. Howell's letterheads and a pen and wrote the following lines:

Saltans quondam inter flores;
Pugnans nunc contra dolores
Et seniles horrores.
O, quae mutatio rerum
Et fugax sors dierum!
Patet orcus, jam mitent sorores.

This may be translated to read

Walking once among the flowers;
Fighting now against sorrows
And the troubles of old age.
O, what a change of things
And a passing of the days!
The under world opens; now the Fates appear.

"I have relieved my mind," he said to Mr. Howell, "by dropping into Latin verse." And then he turned his attention to the business on which he had come to the office.

Doctor Gattinger loved the trees and flowers. Among his papers months after his death they found a slip of paper on which was written: "Wandering along lonesome paths I could hear whispering voices telling from the over-arching trees and from the grasses bending at my feet that my love of the floral world is in some way returned. Ethereal waves—they tell me of universal consciousness—flood the realms of space, seizing upon all living things, imparting some mode and degree of consciousness to all of them, to each after its own kind, binding the infinite divinity to a harmonious unity, possessing divine omniscience."

At the time of publication of the work on medicinal plants of the State, Doctor Gattinger's botanical collections had so far progressed that he felt satisfied that within a limited time not many more additions could be made, and he had very nearly reached the limits of the record. The aid extended since the appearance of the first book had been very material, and he had himself added much. Others helped him liberally. Among those making most valuable contributions and additions were General Kirby-Smith, at Sewanee; Professor T. M. Bain, afterwards of the Agricultural College at Knoxville; Professor A. Ruth, superintendent of the public schools in Knoxville; the late Mrs. Lydia Bennett, of Fisk University, Nashville; Doctor G. Egeling, pharmacist, Memphis; and Professor Lampson F. Scribner and Mr. Kearney, both connected with the botanical division of the Agri-

K. Hall and Anna Murray Vail, on the flora of Southwestern Virginia. Both these areas extending to the geographical borders of Tennessee, along mountain ranges and water courses which continue into the upper border counties of Tennessee without any difference in the nature of the soil or elevation, the flora were necessarily identical. Doctor Gattinger therefore added to his list such species as had not yet been collected within the adjoining boundaries of the State. The most recent information he received was from the botanists of the Biltmore Botanical Institute—Messrs. C. D. Beadle, F. E. and C. L. Boynton, and T. C. Harbison—published in “Biltmore Botanical Studies,” Vol. I, No. 1; William Wesley & Son, London. From all these sources and from his own continued collections, Doctor Gattinger was able to add to his last published list over four hundred species not contained in the first edition. He made many changes, besides amending and correcting many errors that had occurred in the original publication.

The nomenclature adopted in the last book Doctor Gattinger explained as follows:

“One of the greatest burdens and causes of confusion in systematic botany has been the constantly increasing synonyms for the same species. Much of it resulted from the disjointed labors of distant botanical writers describing the same plants; often from the imperfect specimens, while unacquainted with the past or contemporaneous labors of others in the same field; and in not a few instances it resulted from the abuse of personal prominence and disregard of the merits of others. This disturbing condition would never have come to an end, if the great majority of naturalists had not recognized the necessity of accepting the name given by the discoverer of the plant, whenever the name is conformable to preëstablished rules. Priority should be a fixed and positive limitation, which admits of nothing arbitrary or partial.

“On the invitation of Alphonse de Candolle, an International Botanical Congress was held in Paris in 1867, to which botanists from all countries were invited, and the most important subject discussed was botanical nomenclature. M. A. de Candolle, author of the “*Prodromus*,” presided. He had drawn up a most carefully considered code of rules to govern botanists in their

writings, and this code was submitted to the assemblage of botanists, each rule being formulated and modified as the majority deemed wise. Finally the whole was printed and circulated. The fundamental principle of these laws was priority of publication, with adequate descriptions. Unfortunately it was made retrospective, without any sufficiently defined statute of limitation.

"Among zoologists the Stricklandian code governs—known as the 'Rules of the British Association.' It was signed by Charles Darwin and Professor Hensley. A revision was made in 1860 by Mr. A. R. Wallace, P. L. Clayton, Professor Balfour, Professor Huxley, Doctor J. D. Hooker, and Mr. George Bentham. A still further revision of the same occurred in 1865. In the preface to this code occurs this sentence: 'No one person can subsequently claim an authority equal to that possessed by the person who is the first to define a new genus or describe a new species.'

"The adoption of the Paris code did not meet an immediate and universal acceptance. The conflict with the interests of authors and publishers of works of great value, the issue of which had been commenced and was still progressing, was a matter of some consideration. The non-attendance of English botanists at the Paris Congress was perhaps due to this cause. The annoyance created by such radical changes is a very great one, and a burden pressing heavily upon the older botanists, who are not so well fitted to recast their memories as the younger generations, who will reap the benefit of the movement. There was also some friction with us, even after the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in August, 1892. The botanical division adopted at this meeting the Paris code of 1867, with some modifications. At the following meeting, in Madison, Wis., in 1893, an additional amendment was adopted, and a committee of the association was appointed to elaborate a list of *Pteridophyta* and *Spermatophyta*, growing without cultivation in Northeastern North America. This work was subsequently published in 1894 as the fifth volume of the "Memoirs" of the Torrey Botanical Club. The synonyms given under each species in this work include the recent current names, and thus avoid any difficulty in identification."

In 1890 Doctor Gattinger's entire collection, the second largest herbarium in the South, was secured by the University of Tennessee, at Knoxville, and the ardent collector, knowing that he could not, by reason of his advanced years, expect to add much to its enlargement, was happy to know that the result of his labors was in hands under whose care it will be well preserved and utilized. It gives to this institution by far the finest collection of Tennessee flora in existence, as well as the largest herbarium in Tennessee.

Doctor Gattinger's valuable botanical library he presented to the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn. Among the one hundred and eighty-seven volumes in the collection were the government surveys, proceedings of numerous scientific associations, academies, and the botanical works of Sereno Watson, Gray, Torrey, Vasey, Bailey, Coulter, Engelmann and other American botanists, with a valuable collection of reports and pamphlets. They were much appreciated as an addition to the large botanical library already gathered at the University of the South, and to place them there was a genuine pleasure to the donor. He wanted them to be useful.

While the pursuit of botany never brought Doctor Gattinger any financial advantages, he always regarded it as a mighty influence for good, profitably occupying his time. He often said that it gave him many hours of the purest enjoyment of life, and brought him into friendly relations with many excellent men and women whom he might not otherwise have known. People who love nature love each other most.

The enlarged edition of the "Flora of Tennessee" came out in 1901, the money for its publication being provided by the Legislature. This book was the sum of his life-work as a botanist, containing the full results of all his investigation into the flora of this State. It included a chapter on the philosophy of botany and other matters allied with the science, and gave a perfect classification of more than twenty-one hundred species. It was warmly received by botanists in America and in other countries, who wrote him enthusiastically concerning the value of his contribution to botanical knowledge. The press of the State, as well as the botanical press of the world, gave it words of the warmest

commendation and showed an appreciation of the great results attained by him.

A letter from Lester F. Ward, of the United States Geological Survey, and one of the inspirers of the original undertaking, refers to the merit of the book and adds: "I have often thought of you and the delightful time that we had with you in Nashville in 1877. I do dearly hope that I may meet you again before long, but somehow I never seem to have anything that seems to call me to Nashville." A later letter promises aid in distributing the book to people who would appreciate and value it.

Doctor A. W. Chapman, the noted Florida botanist, calls the book "the most remarkable catalogue I ever received from any quarter—the whole State of Tennessee recorded as the result of your sole personal exertions." In a subsequent letter the same writer says, "It will ever stand as a monument to show us what unassisted perseverance is able to accomplish by one with eyes always open."

Another old friend of Doctor Gattinger wrote: "I am not a technical botanist, but the philosophy I can comprehend and I wish to tell you how much I have enjoyed that and how glad I am that in the evening of your life you are finding such congenial and profitable work to occupy your mind. I often revert in memory to the time when you were so kind and helpful to me and when such things had a meaning and significance they have never had since."

The "Flora of Tennessee" was used by Doctor William D. Duane, of St. Louis, in compiling his "Flora of the Mississippi Valley," and he found many things in its wonderfully complete list. Among others of the author's correspondents who were pleased with the book, and with the most of whom he had corresponded for years, were Annie Chambers Ketchum (Sister Amabilis), F. Lampson Scribner, Asa Gray, William M. Canby, John M. Coulter, David F. Day, Wm. R. Dudley, John Eaton, S. B. Parrish, J. L. M. Curry, Charles E. Bessey, S. W. Collett, Edward L. Rand, Harlan P. Kelsey, C. S. Sargent, C. P. Ambler, Roland M. Harper, L. H. Bailey, Frank E. McDonald and J. M. Safford.

The "Flora" was the last printed work of Doctor Gattinger, and practically closed his labors in that field, because he realized

that even if his years permitted there was little more to add. He was willing to rest his reputation upon it, so far as botanic achievement was concerned.

But he continued the practice of medicine, his profession, and continued taking an interest in the things to which he had devoted his life. Almost to the last he kept his usual health. In July, 1903, he had an attack of pneumonia which was not considered of consequence, and for several days was slightly ill from it. No serious consequences were feared. About noon of Saturday, July 18, he was taken much worse and his condition became rapidly alarming. Within two hours he was dead. His wife had preceded him by about twelve years. Three daughters survive.

Concerning his own early life and experiences Doctor Gattinger had usually very little to say to any one, even to his close friends. He did not seem to live in the past. Few matters relating to himself did he consider worthy of preservation—few indeed, save the work that he had done in the interest of his favorite science. The books and pamphlets he wrote are not numerous nor large, though they contain the fruits of more than half a century's study and work. It takes a great deal of investigation and research to fill a small book like the "Flora." A list of his writings is appended to this sketch.

This reticence in speaking of his past arose from one of the strongest traits of his character—one that was pronounced even in his old age. The burning questions of the present and the prospects of the future interested him so intensely that he seemed entirely to forget the personal experiences of the past. Thus it came about that few, even of the intimate friends of Doctor Gattinger, ever learned any of the events of his own past career that were not well known to others by virtue of the positions he had held and the place he occupied as a physician and a botanist.

But, although primarily a physician and a scientific student of botany, his chief interest in his latter years seemed to center in broad philosophical questions. Books dealing with such problems in a critical aggressive spirit he purchased at once and read with the greatest eagerness. When he published the second edition of his "Flora," the real scientific value of which unquestionably rests on the strictly botanic portion, it was especially

the supplementary chapters of the origin of life and kindred topics of which he was above all proud. For, with all his love for it, he was no thoroughly trained student of philosophy, but he always dealt with the broad philosophical and religious problems that attracted him in the spirit of an amateur, though an amateur of high intellectual endowment. His interest in these matters was not the dispassionate search for truth that characterizes the scientific investigator, but rather the practical enthusiasm of the would-be reformer. He properly considered the average level of philosophical thinking in this country as very low. He had enough of the spirit of the men of '48 in him still to object bitterly to all interference of ecclesiastic organizations in matters of higher education, and as a scientist he was deeply concerned in popularizing the results of modern scientific investigation. To contribute his share to the advancement of enlightened thinking on the broad questions of life was the burning, though not always conscious desire of his last years, and the feeling that in the relative solitude in which he lived he could not do more in that direction often filled him with keen disappointment.

Despite this, however, his interest in the world's intellectual life never flagged. It always filled younger thoughtful men with admiration and served as an incentive to their own efforts to see this old man, who was almost entirely cut loose from those circles in which he would have felt thoroughly at home, try to keep himself abreast of the latest developments in science and speculative thought. The absence of the facilities for being more intimately associated with others of like wishes and impulses was the only regret that any of his best friends ever heard him express at his early expatriation from his native Germany.

In the last letter Doctor Gattinger ever wrote to Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, now of the University of Wisconsin, who knew Doctor Gattinger from 1895 to 1901, and to whom I am indebted for the substance of this estimate of his character and mind, he gave indications of this ever-present desire to keep abreast of the times. The letter was dated January 13, 1903, half a year before he died, and in it he wrote of his interest in the park movement at Nashville and that he hoped to complete soon a treatise on "Parks and Gardens," treated historically, botanically

and ethically. He closed with the characteristic words: "On the third of February I shall enter upon my seventy-ninth year! I have to be in a hurry if I yet want to do something."

In all of his strong qualities, as well as in his foibles, he was thoroughly German; in fact too much and too brusquely so to gain that influence on his American surroundings that he was highly qualified to exercise. He was deeply interested in everything that promised to spread the knowledge of the German language and, thus, of German thought and science. He was in many respects an admirable type of the German idealist of the old school.

He was well versed in the classics, but nevertheless had little interest in literature per se. Of poetry he often said in a semi-serious way, that he had no use for it. When he was far past the age of seventy he again became interested in the study of French of which his early scholastic training had given him little or no knowledge. When seventy-nine years old he pondered the question whether he had not better take up the study of the calculus, so as to be better able to follow certain lines of work in mechanics and physics. Professor Hohlfeld knew Doctor Gattinger intimately and they had many tastes in common. He writes me that he has never been privileged to see at such an advanced age such an intensity and versatility of the highest intellectual interests as Doctor Gattinger exhibited. Indeed, he seemed to feel his age less than most men. To the last his mind was clear, his handwriting smooth and even as it was fifty years before his death.

Doctor Gattinger was not a voluminous writer. The science of botany requires concentration of thought, and the work of fifty-four years of his life is in his last book so far as botanical study is concerned. It is a complete and perfect work. The list of his writings, except those hidden in the files of daily newspapers, is as follows:

1878—"On Trees and Shrubbery Adapted to the Soil and Climate of Nashville in Relation to the Vegetable Kingdom and Public

Exposition." A. Gattinger, Geologist and Botanist to the Bureau. (Newspaper article of two columns in the *Nashville Daily World*, of September 23, 1883.)

1884—"Botanical Fragments: Notes on the Flora of Tennessee And a Sketch of the History and Problems of Botany. (A Lecture Addressed to the Agricultural, Dairy and Live Stock Convention at Nashville, Tenn., May 15, 1884.) By Doctor A. Gattinger. Large 8vo. Pp. 12. N. d.

1887—"The Tennessee Flora, with Special Reference to the Flora of Nashville; Phaenogams and Vascular Cryptogams." By Doctor August Gattinger, Member of American Association for Advancement of Science. Published by the Author. Nashville, Tenn. 1887. 8vo. Pp. 109. (Printed by Carlon & Hollenbeck, Indianapolis, Ind.)

1894—"The Medicinal Plants of Tennessee. Exhibiting their Commercial Value with an Analytical Key, Descriptions in Aid of their Recognition, Time and Mode of Collection, and Preparation for the Drug Market. Arranged and published under the direction of T. F. P. Allison, Commissioner of Agriculture. By A. Gattinger, M.D. Nashville, Tenn.: Franc M. Paul, Printer to the State. 1894. 8vo. Pp. 128.

1901—"The Flora of Tennessee and a Philosophy of Botany." Respectfully Dedicated to the Citizens of Tennessee. By Augustin Gattinger, M.D. Published by Authority of the State Through the Bureau of Agriculture. Press of Gospel Advocate Publishing Company. Nashville, Tenn. 1901. 8vo. Pp. 296. (Portrait and illustrations.)

Among those who best knew and understood Doctor Gattinger was Professor Wickliffe Rose, now of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. He has kindly made for me the following estimate of Doctor Gattinger's character and characteristics:

"Doctor Gattinger was already an old man in years when I came to know him; but his bouyancy, his fine enthusiasms, his keen interest in life—all life—defied age. It was his perennial youth that first attracted me to him. This I found thoroughly infectious. It called me to seek him at his home, where I usually found him with his books or his plants. But, however busily

occupied his consciousness and furnished the topics of discussion into which he would enter in the most animated way. This positive, hopeful attitude toward life was a source of inspiration to me and could not fail to awaken an enthusiasm akin to that which sparkled in his own eye.

"I soon discovered one source of this mental freshness and vigor in the fact that he kept himself in touch with modern scientific thought and achievement. Eckermann gives an inspiring picture of Goethe in his eighty-first year discussing the possibilities of a world-commerce through an Isthmian Canal; the universal literature that is to be, showing by keen criticism his familiarity with the young scientists and artists of his day, with their achievements and their promise; then going out into the park to learn archery and clapping his hands like a boy whenever he drives the mark. In his scientific interests Doctor Gattinger was to me a living embodiment of this picture. I shall never forget the merriment which he provoked one evening in his family circle as he entertained us for an hour spinning a new top on his library table. He had just returned from the Tennessee Centennial Exposition, where he had found this new toy and had bought it, in part perhaps for its novelty as a toy, but chiefly for the scientific principle upon which it was constructed. In the announcement of his purchase and the exhibition which followed, both the boy and the scientist were evident. It was an hour of fun mingled with keen scientific interest.

"On my second visit to his home, one evening in the autumn of 1895, I found him poring over a large map almost covering his library table. As I entered he looked up with a gleam of triumph in his face, and before I was seated he began speaking with lively admiration of this new publication of the Geological Survey. After an appreciative statement of its strong points, he called my attention to an error in the classification of a rock in East Tennessee. It was given as a conglomerate. 'That,' he said, 'is not quite accurate; and yet the mistake is such a natural one. But,' he continued, locating the rock on the map before him, 'I have been all over this field many a time and have examined this rock with great care. The original rock underwent a process of disintegration, the more soluble elements being removed and leaving the elements here reported as composing the conglomerate. But these elements, you see, have simply been recemented without having been displaced. So that while the present rock has all the appearance of a conglomerate, genetically it is not one. The point was interesting enough on its own account, but what interested me most was that a man of his years should be following the detail work of the Geological Survey, keenly alive to its achievements and sufficiently alert to catch the staff napping.

"On another occasion I called to find him in possession of the first volume of the Britton and Brown 'Flora,' which had just come from the press. 'Here,' he said, slapping the book with his hand, 'is a great triumph of modern botany. The fine illustrations alone make the book indispensable to every student.' Then he turned to the clematis which he had discovered and which had received his name. And this reminds me of how he burst a bubble for me on a later occasion. It was in the early spring of 1900. I had found in a pond near West Nashville a beautiful alga. Attracted both by its beauty and by its novelty, I had spent the leisure of five or six weeks over the microscope in its study. I had traced out its complete life history and made drawings of the various forms through which it passed. None of the special treatises on *algae* in the university library gave any account of this one. Feeling quite confident of a discovery, I took my drawings to show them to Doctor Gattinger, wondering as I went along whether he had kept up with the newer botany and were as familiar with the work being done in the morphology of these lower forms as he was with his flora. I had never heard him speak of the *algae*. He took great interest in my drawings and the descriptions which I added. Then turning to his library he took down a recent German book on *algae*, in which was given a full description with accompanying illustrations of my plant. My bubble was gone, and with it a bit of conceit.

"A little later in the season I had the pleasure of a little excursion with him into the woods. He had often referred longingly to the wild woods, regretting his lack of physical strength to take the long tramps which he had so much enjoyed in former years. I had found a spot near the road where the spring flowers were out in all their glory. He was eager to go. Taking a basket and trowel we drove out. It was a joy to see this meeting with his old friends from whom he had been long separated. Every tree and grass and flower had its kindly greeting, often provoking a tender, loving caress. As he led me around among the company, introducing me to those that I had never met, he entertained me in the most lively manner with family relationships and individual idiosyncrasies of plants. Here was an illustration of development and triumph through struggles with difficulties, there one of degeneration as a result of luxurious ease. Thus the bit of wildwood on the hillside was, when seen through his eyes, a life colony, a veritable teeming city like unto the one which we had just left—the same subjects of family gossip, the same stories of individual failures and successes, the same life drama being played out under simpler conditions. And with all this my venerable friend was at home both in knowledge and in sympathy. Nothing could be more beautiful in human fellowship

than the tender affection displayed in his caress of the delicate *erethronium*, then in full bloom at the edge of the bluff. A few of those not in bloom he took with him, and the following season I saw them bounding into larger life under his sympathetic care.

"This love and intimate knowledge of nature lay at the basis of the broad catholicity which characterized his attitude toward the whole problem of human life. No subject engaged his attention more than that of social progress. And this he, like Walt Whitman, insisted upon viewing as the peculiar prerogative of no race nor nation nor class nor party or clique, but as a fact universal and democratic. This social progress with universal welfare as its end furnished the criterion by which he measured all social institutions. Their efficiency as instruments in the service of this end was the measure of their value.

"I shall never forget one evening in particular when he spoke on this subject at great length and with peculiar earnestness and force. We were speaking of the German *Gymnasium*. He illustrated the thoroughness of its instruction in Latin by taking up his Virgil and reading a page or two at random, then giving me the imagery in detail and thus assuring me of his keen appreciation of its beauties of style. He contrasted this teaching of Latin which makes the language an instrument of service in life with that more superficial teaching which takes much of the boy's valuable time while giving him but little and sometimes almost nothing in return. He then took up the larger question of German education, and showed, among other things, how the development of pure science in the universities had made possible Germany's remarkable industrial development. Then he referred with much feeling to the great handicap which Germany suffers from her military system, pointing to the fact that the most gifted young men are drawn away from lines of constructive activity to become not only unproductive members of society, but a tremendous burden to be carried on the shoulders of those who were left to carry on the work. The peace proposal of the Czar he thought in the end must triumph because its principle was in line with social progress. In the same vein he discussed many features of American life, from the tendency of football in the American college to the gambling on Wall street, finally drawing a serio-comic picture of the whole tribe of social parasites.

"When in Nashville last May I called to see him. He had just been reading Franceschini's *Woher und Wohin*. This was the occasion for a discussion of philosophic themes. He referred with special emphasis to Franceschini's *Vor und nach dem Einschlafen*, and brought to bear upon the problem of sleep his own theory of mind conceived as a cosmic energy. To this theory of a cosmic mind which is clearly stated 'in his Flora of

Tennessee and *Philosophy of Botany*' (pp. 244-245), he returned during the last two years of his life with increasing frequency and interest. I first heard him state it as a working hypothesis some three years ago in connection with a discussion of Haeckel's theory of protoplasm. Soon after the appearance of Spencer's last volume, he read me a marked passage one evening giving as he interpreted it, support to his theory of the relation of the cosmic mind to the individual consciousness.

"I found him one evening working on his '*Philosophy of Botany*:' he read me this paragraph, which, I take it, he had just written: 'It [the cosmic mind] may affect protoplasm in inconceivable paths to some kind of sensations in the plant, to emotions in the lower animals, and ultimately guide the intricate process of reasoning and light up the highest spheres of our ideal aspirations. It stands in the same relation to the whole of the cosmos as self-consciousness, representing divine omniscience.'

"As I came away on this, my last visit, he walked out with me to the gate, where I took my leave. As I walked up the street, with a merry ring in his voice he bade me Godspeed in my new field."

FOUNDING OF KNOXVILLE.

Letter of Hugh Dunlap.

[Hugh Dunlap, son of Harry Dunlap, was born in Londonderry County, Ireland, November 5, 1769; died at Paris, Tenn., October 10, 1846. Came, with his Brother William, to America at an early age and engaged in business in Tennessee. In 1794 married Susannah Harding Gilliam; born in Henrico County, Virginia, May 19, 1775; died in Shelby County, Tennessee, January 6, 1859; daughter of Devereux Gilliam, of Buckingham County, Virginia, who built Gilliam Station at the confluence of the Holston and French Broad Rivers, in 1785-8, and wife, Edith Ellia, daughter of Captain Charles Ellis, of Red Hill, Amherst County, Virginia. Hugh Dunlap and wife were the parents of Richard Gilliam Dunlap, the first male white child born in Knoxville. About 1809 he removed to Roane County and occupied a farm which now includes the town of Rockwood. In 1821-2 he removed to West Tennessee and in 1825 settled at Paris. Was in active service in the later Indian troubles in East Tennessee.—JOHN S. DUNLAP.]

PARIS, TENN., January 19, 1842.

MR. EASTMAN.

DEAR SIR: In your paper of the 22nd ult. and the 5th inst. I observed arrangements making for the celebration of the semi-centennial anniversary of Knoxville. I am the only man, whom I know to be alive, who was living there when the lots were laid off. It would be a source of unmixed pleasure to be present at the celebration, if my health and the weather permitted. I could not conceive a higher gratification than to meet at the festive board the children of those adventurous and worthy men who first settled Knoxville, and who were the more endeared to me by the very perils incident to its settlement.

At the treaty of Holston, in 1791, there were no houses except *shantees* put up for the occasion to hold Government stores.

General White, in a jest, to let him have the lot including the spring when a town was laid off; and when the town was laid off the general preserved the lot and made him a deed to it—these facts were told me by General White himself, for I was not present at the treaty. I left Philadelphia, with my goods, in December, 1791, and did not reach Knoxville until about the first of February, 1792. I deposited my goods and kept store in the house used by the Government at the treaty, although I believe the treaty itself was made in the open air. At the time I reached Knoxville, Samuel and Nathaniel Cowan had goods there. John Chisolm kept a house of entertainment, and a man named McLemee was living there. These men, with their families, constituted the inhabitants of Knoxville, when I went there. Governor Blount lived on Barbary Hill, a knoll below College Hill, and between it and the river.

The principal settlements in the county were on Beaver Creek. All the families lived in forts pretty much in those days; and, when the fields were cultivated, there was always a guard stationed around them for protection. There was a fort at Campbell's Station, which was the lowest settlement in East Tennessee. The next fort and settlement were at Blackburn's, west of the Cumberland Mountains; the next at Fort Blount, on the Cumberland River; and then the French Lick, now Nashville.

The land on which Knoxville is built belonged to General White. In February, 1792, Colonel Charles McClung surveyed the lots and laid off the town; I do not recollect on what day of the month. It excited no particular interest at the time. The whole town was then in a thicket of brushwood and grape-vines, except a small portion in front of the river, where all the business was done. There was never any regular public sale of the lots: General White sold anybody a lot who would settle on it and improve it, for eight dollars; and in this way and at this price, the lots were generally disposed of.

In the year 1792, the Creek and Cherokee learned together

ferocious character toward the whites, and his turbulence among his own people.

They marched as far as Cavet's seven miles from Knoxville, and made an attack upon his house. After resisting for some time the assaults of the Indians, Cavet, his son, and a militia man, the only men in the blockhouse, capitulated under promise that the family should be spared. After they surrendered, they were murdered, and the mother, two grown daughters, and perhaps some smaller children, were brutally despoiled and butchered. This massacre, though horrid and heart-rending, was the salvation of Knoxville, and the whole circumjacent country, for their force was powerful enough to have overrun and depopulated the white settlements. The Creeks committed the murder, against the wishes of the Cherokees; a dispute arose among them about it, Watts refused to proceed further, and the whole army of savages was virtually disbanded, and they returned to their villages and wigwams. A child of Cavet was not killed at the blockhouse. It was taken prisoner. Two Creeks claimed it; they had their tomahawks drawn on each other, when a third party, to quiet the rival claims, tomahawked the child. It was thought for some years the child was living, but the Indians afterwards told all the circumstances.

In 1793, the first Government troops were stationed in Knoxville, under the command of Captain Carr, a Revolutionary officer; his lieutenant, Ricard, had him arrested, a few months after their arrival, for drunkenness. Carr was chagrined at the efforts of his lieutenant to supplant him and resigned, and Ricard was promoted to Carr's office. They built their barracks where Etheldred Williams has since erected a brick house, opposite the courthouse. I believe the Convention of 1796 sat in it.

In 1793 Colonel Christy, who was commanding the United States troops at Knoxville, died, and was buried with martial and Masonic honor on what is now College Hill. It was a magnificent procession, by far the most splendid funeral that had ever been witnessed in the territory. In the same year died Titus Ogden, a merchant, and paymaster to the troops and of the Indian annuities, which Governor Blount was superintendent of, the four tribes of Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws. I mention the death and burial place of these two men, as I have

been told that in digging the foundation for the college, two skeletons were exhumed, and supposed to have been those of Indians buried there. They were no doubt the bones of Colonel Christy and Titus Ogden. I was at the burial of both, and did not suppose that the graves of two men, so noted in their day, and buried with all the pomp and circumstance of war, would have been so soon forgotten. Colonel King and myself were at the time, and for several years afterwards, commissaries for all the troops stationed in East Tennessee.

After the county had increased in population sufficiently to protect itself, in a great measure, from the incursions of the Indians, it was kept in constant alarm for some time by the depredations of the Harps, two men who were fugitives from their native State. They made a crop on Beaver Creek, and furnished the butcher in Knoxville, old John Miller, for some months with hogs, sheep and cattle they had stolen from their neighbors. They afterward secreted themselves and made marauding expeditions against the lives and property of the citizens. One of them had two wives, sisters by the name of Rice. The first man they killed in Knox County was young Coffee, on Beaver Creek. Johnson was their next victim, murdered within two miles of Knoxville. I had attempted to take them on several occasions and they killed Bullard under the impression it was me. They killed Bradbury afterwards, who, I believe, was the father of General Bradbury of the Senate. They left Knox County in 1797 or 8, and their villanies made their subsequent history notorious.

I beg you to excuse the length of this letter. I cannot think of those early times without in some degree living them over again. I understand a distinguished literary gentleman of your county is collecting the materials to write the early history of Tennessee. I hope he may not falter in an undertaking where the materials are so rich and the fame so certain.

Verv respectfully.

THE RODES FAMILY.

BY FRANK RODES, OF ST. LOUIS, MO.

RODES.—The English pedigree of the Rodes family, which appears in Volume II of Hunter's "Familiae Minorum Gentium," Harlaean Society, publishers, London, states that Sir John Rodes, of Cornhill, London, had two sons who emigrated to America: Francis Rodes, who settled in Maryland, where he married twice, but eventually returned to England; and Charles Rodes, who settled in Virginia, where he married in 1695, and remained. For above suggestion, and one or more other items, I am indebted to the *Virginia Magazine*.

(1) John Rodes, traditionally regarded as a son of Charles Rodes, the emigrant, and whose place of birth is traditionally attributed to the lower end of the present Hanover County, was born November 6, 1697 (family Bible), and died May 3, 1775. He married Mary Crawford, born in March, 1703, daughter of Captain David Crawford (1662-1762), and his wife Elizabeth (Smith), of Amherst County, Virginia. John Rodes removed to Louisa County, and in September, 1765, was appointed vestryman of Fredericksville Parish. He eventually settled in Albemarle County, where he was a justice, and made a will February 12, 1774, referring to four sons and five daughters.

Descendants were: Clifton, who married Sarah (Waller), daughter of John and Agnes (Carr) Waller, of Spottsylvania County, Virginia. (This Clifton was a soldier in the Louisa County militia, French and Indian wars, and was high sheriff of Albemarle County. Charles, who married Amy Duke, sister of General Robert Duke, and settled in Nelson County, Virginia, and has descendants in Kentucky and Tennessee. John, who married Sarah (Harris), born May 24, 1736, and died January 31, 1803, daughter of Major Robert Harris and his wife Mourning (Glenn). (This Robert Harris was a burgess from Hanover County, 1743-1744. David, who married, first Mary (Mills), and secondly Susannah (Anderson), leaving many descendants.

Ann, who married William Thompson and removed to Lexington, Kentucky. Henrietta, who married Bernice Brown, of Albemarle County. One daughter married a Crawford. Of the other two daughters of John Rodes, I have no record.

(2) John Rodes (2nd), of Albemarle County, Virginia, born November 1, 1729, and died July 15, 1810 (family Bible); married September 9, 1754, Sarah (Harris); was also Justice of Albemarle County. His will was dated July 6, 1804.

Descendants: Mary, born February 14, 1757, who died young, unmarried. Robert, born May 11, 1759, died November 20, 1818; married Eliza (Delaney), daughter of John Delaney, of Amherst County, Virginia; removed to Madison County, Kentucky; was captain in militia for coast defences, War of Revolution; afterwards judge of Circuit Court of Madison County. Henrietta, born May 26, 1761; married James Brown, of Virginia. Ann, born July 22, 1763; married John Garth and settled in Scott County, Kentucky. John, born June 2, 1766; married Jesena (Brown), daughter of Bernice Brown, of Albemarle County. Clifton, born August 8, 1768; married his cousin, Elizabeth Jouet, daughter of John Jouet, of Albemarle, and settled in Warren or Barren County, Kentucky. Tyree, born December 24, 1771; removed to Giles County, Tennessee; married April 25, 1811, Cynthia (Holland), daughter of Major James Holland (Revolutionary soldier and congressman of North Carolina) and his wife Sarah (Gilbert), who had removed to Maury County, Tennessee. James Holland was son of William Holland and his wife Mary (Harrison). This Tyree Rodes was a commissioner under act of legislature 1809, to lay out the town of Pulaski. He died while traveling near Somerville, Tennessee, July 17, 1827, and was buried at his home near Pulaski. Charles, born February 22, 1774, died in 1814, at Oswego, N. Y., while a surgeon in the army. Sarah Harris, born July 3, 1777, and died January 25, 1880; married Micajah Woods, of Albemarle County.

(3) Descendants of Tyree Rodes (1771-1827) and his wife, Cynthia (Holland), of Giles County, Tennessee, were: Sarah Myra, born October 18, 1812; died March 12, 1865; married,

Robert, born June 24, 1816; died October 23, 1887; married Sarah Elizabeth (Carter), October 20, 1841, daughter of Dr. Benjamin Carter (soldier in Creek war) and his wife, Elizabeth Kinchin (Lindsay), of Pulaski. (Dr. Benjamin Carter was a son of Daniel Carter, of South Carolina, (b. 1761), Lieutenant of Cavalry, War of Revolution, whose brother, Benjamin Carter, was at same time captain, remaining in the army till his death.) Sophia Selina, born October 28, 1818, died October 24, 1829. Tyree, born July 18, 1821; died July 28, 1858, south of Pulaski; married Jane Elizabeth (Murrell), daughter of Colonel Hezekiah P. Murrell (at one time in Kentucky State Senate) and his wife, Mary (daughter of Clifton Rodes, of Kentucky).

(4) Descendants of John H. Rivers and his wife, Sarah Myra (Rodes): William, born July 19, 1831; died December 26, 1891; married Martha Julia (Flournoy), daughter of William Flournoy, of Pulaski. Cynthia, who married, April 6, 1857, Major B. F. Carter, of Pulaski, (son of Dr. Benjamin Carter). Mary Elizabeth, who married, first, George Sykes, of Mississippi, and second, Dr. William Batte, of Pulaski; no descendants.

(4) Descendants of Robert Rodes (1816-1887) and his wife, Sarah E. (Carter), of Giles County. Inez, born February 4, 1842; married Rev. George H. Hunt, of Nashville, now of St. Louis, Mo. Cynthia, born May 15, 1844; married Captain F. R. R. Smith, of Nashville. Tyree, born August 18, 1848; married May Gordon, daughter of Wallace W. Gordon, of Lynnville, Tennessee. May, born October 20, 1849; died January 16, 1871, result of railroad accident; unmarried. Frank, born January 17, 1852. Robert, born May 2, 1854, (since deceased); married Lulie (Horton), of Nashville. Benjamin C., born October 17, 1858; died July 22, 1863. Sallie L., born June 17, 1861; died July 13, 1867. James Holland, born November 14, 1863.

(4) Descendants of Tyree Rodes (1821-1858), of Giles County, and his wife, Jane Elizabeth (Murrell): Clifton, born September 13, 1852; died June 13, 1887; unmarried. Myra Ophelia, born November 7, 1856; died March 7, 1858. This branch is now extinct.

(5) Descendants of William Rivers and his wife, Martha Julia (Flournoy): Flournoy, attorney at Pulaski. Tyree Rodes, officer in United States army. John H., died in childhood. William

C., officer in United States Army. Myra (now deceased); married Captain Horn, United States army, leaving descendants. Julian died young, unmarried.

(5) Descendants of Major B. F. Carter and his wife, Cynthia (Rivers): Myra Bell, who married G. A. Pope, of Pulaski; Rivers; Lizzie, who married a Thatcher, and died shortly afterwards; Benjamin; Cynthia; Margaret, who died young.

(5) Descendants of Rev. George H. Hunt and his wife, Inez (Rodes): Sallie R., who died young, unmarried; Fanny, May, Henry W., Ethel B., Inez and Roberta.

(5) Descendants of Captain F. R. R. Smith and his wife, Cynthia (Rodes): Samuel G., Sarah Elizabeth, Cynthia R., Ellinora H. and Annabel.

(5) Descendant of Tyree Rodes (1848) and his wife, May (Gordon): Sara Louise.

(5) Descendants of Robert Rodes (1854) and his wife Lulie (Horton): Alice, Elizabeth and Robert.

SAMUEL HOUSTON.

Some of the Main Features of His Trial for Contempt Before the House of Representatives Interestingly Narrated in a Letter from Governor James D. Porter to His Son.

SANTIAGO DE CHILI, January 16, 1894.

TO CHARLES D. PORTER, ESQ.:

I redeem the promise to write a brief account of the trial of ex-Governor Samuel Houston for "contempt" before the House of Representatives at Washington.

On March 31, 1832, Mr. Stanberry, a representative in Congress from the State of Ohio, in a public debate, alleged that General John H. Eaton, recently retired from the cabinet of President Jackson, had fraudulently attempted to give to Governor Houston a contract for supplying rations to such Indians as might emigrate to their lands west of the Arkansas and Missouri; Mr. Stanberry loosely assumed a personal knowledge of the facts, denying the credit of the discovery of Duff Greene's newspaper, the *Telegraph*, and referred to it in a spirit of hot partisanship, making it evident that his action was more of a desire to injure the President than to uncover the alleged corrupt administration of subordinates. There was no foundation for the charge.

RESIGNED HIS OFFICE.

Governor Houston had been a Representative in Congress from Tennessee, and a few years before the event referred to, had resigned the office of Governor of that state under peculiar and distressing domestic conditions, and was at this time sojourning with the Indian tribes west of Arkansas. On this account he was under a social and political cloud, and was game for a class of politicians, then and now, ready to pluck a man who had lost influence and prestige, but had not lost that manly spirit which in days gone by had made him the idol of thousands of Tennesseans. No one of his friends could, therefore, feel surprised that he should resent this wanton attack, especially as its

publication was made in the *Intelligencer* in anticipation of its regular place in the proceedings of the House, evidently with the purpose that the imputation should do its work at once.

A NOTE WAS SENT.

So a note was sent by the Honorable Cave Johnson, then a Representative in Congress from the Clarksville district of Tennessee, asking if the remarks printed were correctly reported. Mr. Stanberry made no reply to this respectful inquiry, but addressed a note to Mr. Johnson, in which he stated that he did not "recognize the right of Mr. Houston to make this request," and feeling that this act was an insult that must be noticed, he stated that he at once armed himself with a pair of pistols and a dirk and attended the next session of the House with his pistols cocked, having heard from a busybody of a man named McCarthy that he had heard a gentleman say that he had heard Governor Houston say that he would shoot him on the street; but no such thing seems to have been contemplated by Houston; certainly he was unarmed.

USED A CANE.

Some days afterward, at about eight o'clock in the evening, Mr. Stanberry left his lodgings at Mrs. Queen's, crossed Pennsylvania Avenue and stepped on the sidewalk, and Houston stood before him carrying a walking cane not larger than a man's finger, with which, without ceremony, he belabored his adversary, knocking him down and bruising and beating him with lusty blows. During the affray Mr. Stanberry presented his pistol and pulled down on Houston, but it missed fire, when the latter seized the weapon and walked off. A curious feature of this affair was that in a day or two Mr. Stanberry stated publicly that in his reference to Governor Houston it was no part of his intention to impute fraud to him. It would have been a manly action to have promptly said as much so soon as he ascertained that his words and acts had given affront; it would have saved both from humiliation and himself from degrading punishment. The morning after the assault Mr. Stanberry addressed the following note to the Speaker, which was laid before the House. It was dated the 14th of April, 1832:

MR. STANBERRY'S NOTE.

To the Hon. Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sir: I was waylaid in the streets near to my boarding house last night about eight o'clock and attacked, knocked down by a bludgeon and severely bruised and wounded by Samuel Houston, late of Tennessee, for words spoken in my place in the House of Representatives, by reason of which I am confined to my bed and unable to discharge my duties in the House and attend to the interest of my constituents. I communicate this information to you and request that you will lay it before the House.

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM STANBERRY,

Member of the House of Representatives from Ohio.

MR. VANCE'S RESOLUTION.

Immediately Mr. Vance, of the same state, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Speaker do issue his warrant, directed to the Sergeant-at-Arms, commanding him to take in custody, wherever to be found, the body of Samuel Houston, and the same in his custody to keep, subject to the further order and discretion of the House.

The adoption of the resolution was advocated by able men from the North and South. The opposition to it was led by James K. Polk, then a Representative from Tennessee, supported by William Fitzgerald, of Henry County; Mr. Bell, and the entire delegation from that state, except Mr. Thomas D. Arnold, who, in speaking to the resolution, made himself conspicuous by the virulence of his declamation against the accused and the President. The resolution was adopted by a vote of yeas 106, nays 64. The arrest was made, and the following day a resolution was adopted on the motion of John Davis of Massachusetts, providing that Governor Houston be brought to the bar of the House to answer the charge made against him by William Stanberry. After this a course of proceedings was adopted: the re-

GOVERNOR HOUSTON APPEARS.

Governor Houston appeared by permission in person and by attorney. That accomplished lawyer and eloquent advocate, Francis Scott Key, of Maryland, known to all Americans as the author of the words of the national hymn, "The Star Spangled Banner," was his counsel; the prosecutor was the principal witness for the majority of the House. The defendant called Judge Grundy and others, besides Senator Buckner of Missouri, who was present when the assault was committed. The latter, as well as the prosecutor, proved that the meeting was purely accidental.

MR. KEY'S ARGUMENT.

The argument of Mr. Key was a very able and logical one, worthy of his fame and worthy of his distinguished client, but without being in "contempt," I hope, I must say that the court was organized for conviction. The air was full of prejudice; the members gave open expression to feelings of hostility before hearing the evidence; the accused was referred to in the debate as a man of violence and blood, guilty of lying in wait, in personal vigor as a Hercules. Mr. Key, in referring to this, said, "He had once, indeed, an arm fit to execute the strong impulses of a brave heart, but that arm he had given to his country; on the field of one of the most perilous battles it had been raised in her defence, and on that field it had fallen, crushed and mangled to his side." The prosecutor claimed that he had been beaten with a "bludgeon." Alluding to this, the eloquent advocate said, "Hercules, too, could not be painted without his club, and language could hardly be found to convey an adequate idea of the terrific weapon with which this assassin was armed; I thought it proper that instead of the picture the club itself should be exhibited. The House had seen it, and it could not help remembering, on seeing an honorable gentleman measuring it and comparing it with his finger, the venerable judge who is said to have presented his thumb to show the dimensions of the stick with which in those strange old times, the law allowed a man to chastise his wife."

GOVERNOR HOUSTON SPEAKS.

Governor Houston followed in his own defence. He bore himself with modesty and great dignity. Mr. Key's argument had exhausted the question of the power of the House to punish; still the accused made an able argument and covered the points of his case with great force. His references to himself were abounding with tender pathos. Noticing the cruel allegation that he was broken in fortune and outlawed by society, he said, "Though the ploughshare of ruin has been driven over me, and laid waste my bright hopes, yet I am proud to think that under all circumstances I have endeavored to sustain the laws of my country and to support her institutions. Whatever may be the opinion of gentlemen in relation to these matters, I am here to be tried for a substantive offence, disconnected with my former life or circumstances. I have only to say to those who rebuke me at the time when they see adversity sorely pressing upon me, for myself, I seek no sympathies, nor need; the thorns which I have reaped are of the tree which I planted; they have torn me and I bleed." He was "convicted" and brought to the bar of the House and reprimanded; it was a comical conclusion, but even this result would have been impossible but for the fact that it was in proof, that when the charge of corruption was made by Mr. Stanberry, Governor Houston was on the floor of the House and heard it, and remarked to his friend, Cave Johnson, that he would right the wrong wherever given, "e'en 'twere in the Court of Heaven." The political threat was beyond the limit of pardon; no poetic license could be tolerated. Some affected great alarm at it, and one gentleman seemed fearful that "the sacred temple of the people," as he called the House, would be invaded and the holy men who officiated therein would become victims of the "bludgeon"; and one gentleman, Mr. Arnold, of Tennessee, in a delirium of denunciation, said, "I shall not be surprised if he should undertake to pistol me—to dirk me—to bludgeon me," and seemed greatly disappointed at Houston's neglect to bestow upon him the corporal chastisement he courted, evidently believing that the notoriety of it would create another martyr.

GREATLY MAGNIFIED.

This purely personal incident was magnified by a partisan press, and by violent partisan Representatives, as the initial movement of President Jackson (who was in no sense privy to it) to silence opposition, if not to destroy the men who opposed his will. Numerous gentlemen lost their heads; Mr. Stanberry himself was in a few days the victim of House resolutions of censure for grossly insulting the temporary Speaker.

TIME BRINGS COMPENSATION.

But for the indignities offered Governor Houston and suffered by him, a little time brought him compensation. In April, 1836, just four years after his "trial," as general in chief of the Army of Texas, at a village not far from Galveston Bay, near the mouth of a little river, he met and overwhelmed with defeat a largely superior force of Mexican troops, commanded by General Santa Anna, and made San Jacinto an immortal name. His victory thrilled the hearts of the American people and made Texas an independent state. The name of Houston was on the lips of all men; he was made President of the Republic of Texas. Ten years later Texas became a state of the American Union, and the soldier of San Jacinto became her first Senator, as he was already her foremost citizen.

Another time I will give you my personal recollections of Governor Houston, and tell how he impressed a schoolboy.

JAMES D. PORTER.

GENERAL NATHANIEL TAYLOR AND SOME PAPERS
RELATING TO HIS SERVICE IN THE WAR
OF 1812.

BY ERNEST W. GOODPASTURE.

N. E. Hyder, Esq., of Elizabethtown, Tenn., has presented to the Tennessee Historical Society, through *THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, a collection of papers of General Nathaniel Taylor, pertaining to his military service, a number of which are printed at the end of this sketch. These papers, discolored and crumbling with age, are the more interesting owing to the wide prominence of the Taylor family.

Andrew Taylor originally lived in Rockbridge County, Virginia. He married two sisters, the latter of whom, Annie Wilson, was the mother of an only child, Nathaniel, the subject of this sketch, who was born in Rockbridge County, February 24, 1771. When Nathaniel had reached the age of five, his father emigrated to the Watauga settlement, where he took his part among the pioneers of Tennessee.

Little is known of General Taylor's early life, though it is thought he was educated at Washington College, under President Doak. His father being a man of small means, Nathaniel started out in life with but small capital. He was, though, a man of fine business capacity and prospered in business from the start.

In the year 1791, having exchanged sixty-five acres of the richest farming land on Buffalo Creek for a black pony, he started out to Virginia for a wife. On the 15th day of November of that year he was married to Miss Mary Patton, daughter of James and Sarah Patton, of Rockbridge County. His wife rode the black pony, with her baggage strapped across its back, to her new home on the Watauga. The duties which fell to the lot of a wife in that day included milking the cows, cooking, and the other domestic affairs of a pioneer household. Nevertheless, Mrs. Taylor proved herself equal to all these, and was entitled to much credit for the success her husband achieved. They reared a family of eight children, viz.:

General James P., born November 5, 1792. Married Mary C. Carter. The Carter family was one of the most prominent in East Tennessee. Carter County was named in honor of General Landon Carter, the father of Mary C., and Elizabethtown for his wife, Elizabeth. Rev. Nathaniel G. Taylor, the son of James

P. and Mary (Carter) Taylor, a graduate of Princeton, an eminent divine and member of Congress, was the father of Governor Robert L. and Honorable A. A. Taylor. Governor Robert L. Taylor was a member of Congress, three times Governor of Tennessee, and is a lecturer of national reputation. Honorable A. A. Taylor was also a member of Congress and a lecturer. Bob and Alf, as they were familiarly called, were opposing candidates for governor of Tennessee, as nominees of their respective political parties.

Ann. Born April 10, 1794. Married Thomas D. Love, of North Carolina.

Elizabeth. Born October 4, 1796. Married Thomas Taylor, May 16, 1816.

Alfred W. Born July 10, 1798. Married Elizabeth Duffield, October 1, 1822. Miss Duffield was a daughter of Major George Duffield, originally from Philadelphia, Pa. He was a highly educated man, with elegant manners. He was a Major in the United States army, and for a time on the staff of General Nathaniel Taylor. This circumstance probably led to the union of the two families.

Lorena. Born May 2, 1800. Married General Jacob Tipton. The Tiptons were also a prominent East Tennessee family. Tipton County was named for General Jacob Tipton.

Seraphina C. Born June 23, 1808. Married General A. E. Jackson. General Jackson was a distinguished Confederate officer in the Civil War, in which he took an active part both in Virginia and Tennessee, serving from 1861 to the end of the war.

Mary C. Married W. R. Dulaney, M.D.

Nathaniel John Kennedy. Born February 2, 1813. Died December 7, 1847.

After his marriage, General Taylor accumulated property very rapidly. Besides owning a considerable number of slaves and thousands of acres of land, he was extensively engaged in the manufacture of bar iron, flour, gunpowder, etc. Owing to his remarkable business ability he soon became one of the wealthiest men of Carter County. He was also active in public life, having been the first sheriff of Carter County, and was also one of the Justices of the Peace, and Chairman of the County Court, and member of the legislature in 1809.

Long prominent in military affairs, as Brigadier General, he was ordered into service August 4, 1814, though his brigade was

eral Jackson. After Jackson's election to the Presidency he spent a day in Blountville to see his old friends. When Martin heard he would be there, "Please, ma'am," he said to Mrs. Taylor, "I wants to go over to Blountville to see General Jackson once more 'fore I die, kase we fit together, Miss; I can walk and only be gone two days, and then I'll work mighty hard." "Martin," she replied, "you can't walk, but you can ride the best horse on this farm, and dress in a full military suit, and your young master, Alfred, shall go with you to take care of you." When Martin met General Jackson, tears are said to have flowed freely, and the General himself was visibly affected.*

His papers show his brigade to have been in the service around Montgomery and Mobile, during the winter of 1814-15. He was not with General Jackson at the battle of New Orleans, as stated by some of the Taylor biographers. A general order issued from his headquarters January 8, 1815, which is published below, shows him to have been at Fort Claiborne at that date.

Soon after this, March 20, 1815, the term of his engagement having expired, he returned to his home in Carter County, where he died in 1816, at about 46 years of age. After his death, his widow was almost as successful in business as he had been. She died on the 2nd of August, 1853, having survived him thirty-seven years.

THE TAYLOR PAPERS.

(1) KINGSTON, September 30, 1814.

Agreement of Capt. Joseph Kirk to permit Jacob M. Baley to join Capt. Child's troop of horse.

(2) ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
NASHVILLE, TENN., Oct. 2, 1814.

SIR: I have received several letters from Gen. Jackson, urging me to hasten on the Tennessee troops to his assistance as soon as possible.

I hope you will use every effort to get forward the detachment under your command to Gen. Jackson's headquarters or to such point or place as he will direct its march.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully,

Your obt. servt.,

AND. HYNES, Adj't Genl.
of Tennessee.

Brig. Gen. Taylor
Comdg. Tenn. Troops.

*Hyder.—I am indebted to Mr. Hyder for many of the facts contained in this sketch.

(3)

CAMP DUFFIELD,
13th October, 1814.*Brigr. Genl. N. Taylor:*

SIR:—Your order of the 12th inst. for the army to march this morning at 8 o'clock we fear, sir, was issued under the impression that provisions for the army could be obtained on our march to Fort Jackson, but in report of Maj. Spoor who is just from Fort Strother this appears not to be the fact. Provisions are not to be had at Fort Strother, Fort Williams or the probability of any at Fort Jackson. Considering these circumstances we humbly represent that we think it highly imprudent to march an army with only nine days' provisions for a distance of two hundred and forty miles through a country where nothing can be had for its supply, and beg that you would devise means for subsistence before we leave the place where it can be had.

And we also humbly represent that we think it would be best to remain at this place a few days until wagons can be procured for the transportation of a sufficient quantity of rations to supply us to Fort Jackson. We are willing, however, to submit to any order that you may think proper to dictate.

Respectfully yours &c.

C. T. SPOOR, In. Ant.
GEO. DUFFIELD, A. D. C.
JOHN RUSSELL, B. M.
JOHN ANDERSON, In. Colo.
SAML C. MAGEE, Major,
THOMAS I. VAN DYKE, R. Surgeon.

(4)

CAMP MISERY, Nov. 14, 1814.

(GENERAL ORDER).

The Contractor's Agent at Fort Claiborne, will without the least delay forward on to meet the Tennessee troops on their line of march, fifteen hundred complete rations and three barrels of whiskey, for the hospital department.

(By Command)

GEO. DUFFIELD,
Aid de camp to the Brigr. Gen. Commdg.

(E)

CAMP ROSS, Oct. 14, 1814.

To His Excellency Genl. Taylor:

Your petitioners humbly prayeth that your Excellency will see our accounts honorably and satisfactorily adjusted betwixt the contractor Mr. McKey and your petitioners, as a considerable quantity of back rations is now due us which he the contractor

is only disposed to give his due bill, not stating the value thereof. Your petitioners are of the opinion that contractor has it in his own power to either give us the rations or what he may be pleased in money, not giving your petitioners any say in the price whatever. And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray, &c.

JAMES TUNNELL, Capt
 BENJ. POWELL, Capt
 JAMES STEWART, Capt
 ANDREW LAWSON, Capt
 ELIKE MILLIKAN, Capt
 JOSEPH SCOTT, Capt.

(6) Washington Post Office, 15th Oct. 1814. Receipts of Post Master for letter by express from Gen. Taylor's Headquarters to Maj. Gen. James Winchester.

(7) Camp Relief 23rd Oct. 1814. Asst. Adj. Gen. R. W. Hart to Gen. Taylor with reference to provision train.

(8) Fort Jackson 10th Nov. 1814. P. Pipkin C. C. 1st R. T. M. to Gen. Taylor, on lack of a public horse.

(9) *Mr. Lord:*

You will store your goods in a safe place and proceed to Mobile and there enter them in the revenue office according to law. If you wish to return to Pensacola it is necessary that you should satisfy me of the purity of your designs in passing to and from a port used and frequented by the enemies of the United States.

Your obedient servant

Fort Montgomery,
 25th Nov. 1814.

J. WINCHESTER.

(10) FORT MONTGOMERY, Dec. 15, 1814.

Brigad. Genl. Nathl. Taylor:

SIR: I request that Dr. H. Chambers, Hospital Surgeon, Harry Cage, Asst. Depy. Tur. Master Genl., and D. Clement Nash Reed, Regimental Surgeon be immediately arrested, as I conceive it necessary for the public service. The charges and specifications will be made out immediately.

Yrs
 with respect

THOS. C. CLARK
 Lut. C. C.

(11) FORT CLAIBORNE, Dec. 20, 1814.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your order handed me by express forty miles in the rear of this place

yesterday 10 ock. A.M. Rest assured Sir every exertion shall be made on my part. I think accidents excepted we will reach Fort Montgomery the 23rd this inst.

I have the
honor to be
very respectfully—

F. W. ARMSTRONG,
Majr. 2nd Infy.

Brig. Genl Taylor
Fort Montgomery

(12) FORT MONTGOMERY, Dec. 23rd, 1814.

SIR: Agreeable to your order I have made a rough calculation of the Indian goods at this place. The Quarter Master not being present and I not being furnished with an inventory I have calculated there is—

Four hundred blankets
Four ditto knives
One thousand white shirts
Six hundred check shirts

GEO. W. THOMPSON
Acting as A. D. Q. Master
for Harry Cage.

(13) MOBILE, 3rd January, 1815.

General Taylor:

SIR: This is to apprise you that the balance of General Coffee's mounted men serving with Major Blue as well as such who remained at and in the vicinity of the cut off, are ordered by forced marches to the Mississippi to join Major General Jackson. You will give this detachment every possible facility to get in motion. It will march without baggage, a blanket and the wearing and necessary clothing for men excepted. If the horses of this detachment are weak it may be recollected there are plenty of forage on the Mississippi, and that it is far preferable that the owners of horse, not able to carry them should walk and drive their horses to a place where is plenty for them to eat; than to remain where they are without forage. All must go that are able to march, and without loss of time.

Your obedient servant

J. WINCHESTER, B. Genl
Com. Eas. Sect 7th Dist.*

(14) A morning report of Capt. Reine Company of the

Grade of Officers.	Capt.	Lieut.	Ensign.	Sergt.	Corp.	Private.	Total.
Present fit for duty.....	1	2	1	1	2	28	45
Sick present		1				26	27
Walters on the sick.....						27	27
On command				1		2	3
Total	1	3	1	2	2	93	102

(15).

GENERAL ORDERS.

FORT CLAIBORNE, 8th Jany. 1815.

Colo. William Johnson:

SIR: You are hereby commanded and I hereby strictly enjoin it on you that you use every vigilance in your power, to intercept all and every person who may be found driving or conveying of stock of any species, to Pensacola unless you are conscious that said stock is for the use of the citizens of the United States at present in that place. A crisis has arrived when it behooves every officer and citizen of the United States to be on the alert, and all those found in the habit of conveying stock or provisions to the enemy shall be dealt with as the laws of the United States in that case hath made and provided.

NATHL. TAYLOR

B. G. C.

(16) Jany, 29, 1815. Geo. W. Thompson to Gen. Taylor with reference to lack of boats.

(17) Camp Mandeville, Mch. 7, 1815. Expressing thanks of Gen. Taylor, Col. Perkins and the officers and men to Mr. Pollard.

(18) Camp Mandeville, Mch. 4, 1815. Geo. Duffield to John Alker, with reference to board, showing that Gen. Taylor left Fort Montgomery, Feby. 2, 1815.

(19) Muster Roll of the General and Staff of a Brigade of Infantry called into the service of the United States from Tennessee under the laws of the 28th Feby. 1795 and 18th April 1814 commanded by Brigadier General Nathaniel Taylor from the 20th Sept. 1814 to 20th March, 1815. [The roll is in tabular form but shows the following]:

1. Nathaniel Taylor, Brigr. General, ordered into service on 4th Aug. 1814, present.
2. George Duffield, Aid de camp, engaged 23rd Sept. 1814, present.
3. John Russell, Brigade Major, engaged 21st Sept., 1814, absent on command by order of Gen. Winchester.
4. Robert W. Hart, Asst. Adjt. Genl., engaged 20th Sept. 1814, present.

5. Allen Johnson, Brigade Qr. Master, engaged 30th Sept. 1814, resigned on the 28th Nov., 1814.

6. Thomas P. Winn, Brigade Qr. Master, absent on command.

7. James H. Peck, Asst. Topogl. Engineer, engaged 20th Sept., 1814, present.

8. Spencer E. Gibson, Hospital Surgeon, engaged 20th Sept. 1814, present.

9. William B. Carter, Forage Master, engaged 20th Sept. 1814, resigned 17th Oct. 1814.

10. Joseph Trotter, Forage Master, engaged 17th Oct. 1814, present.

11. John S. Fulton, Asst. Forage Master, engaged 14th Dec., 1814, present.

12. John Durgan, Asst. Forage Master, engaged 14th Dec. 1814, absent on command.

13. David G. Vance, Wagon Master, engaged 20th Sept. 1814, present.

14. Joseph McCorkle, Asst. Wagon Master, engaged 20th Sept., 1814, present.

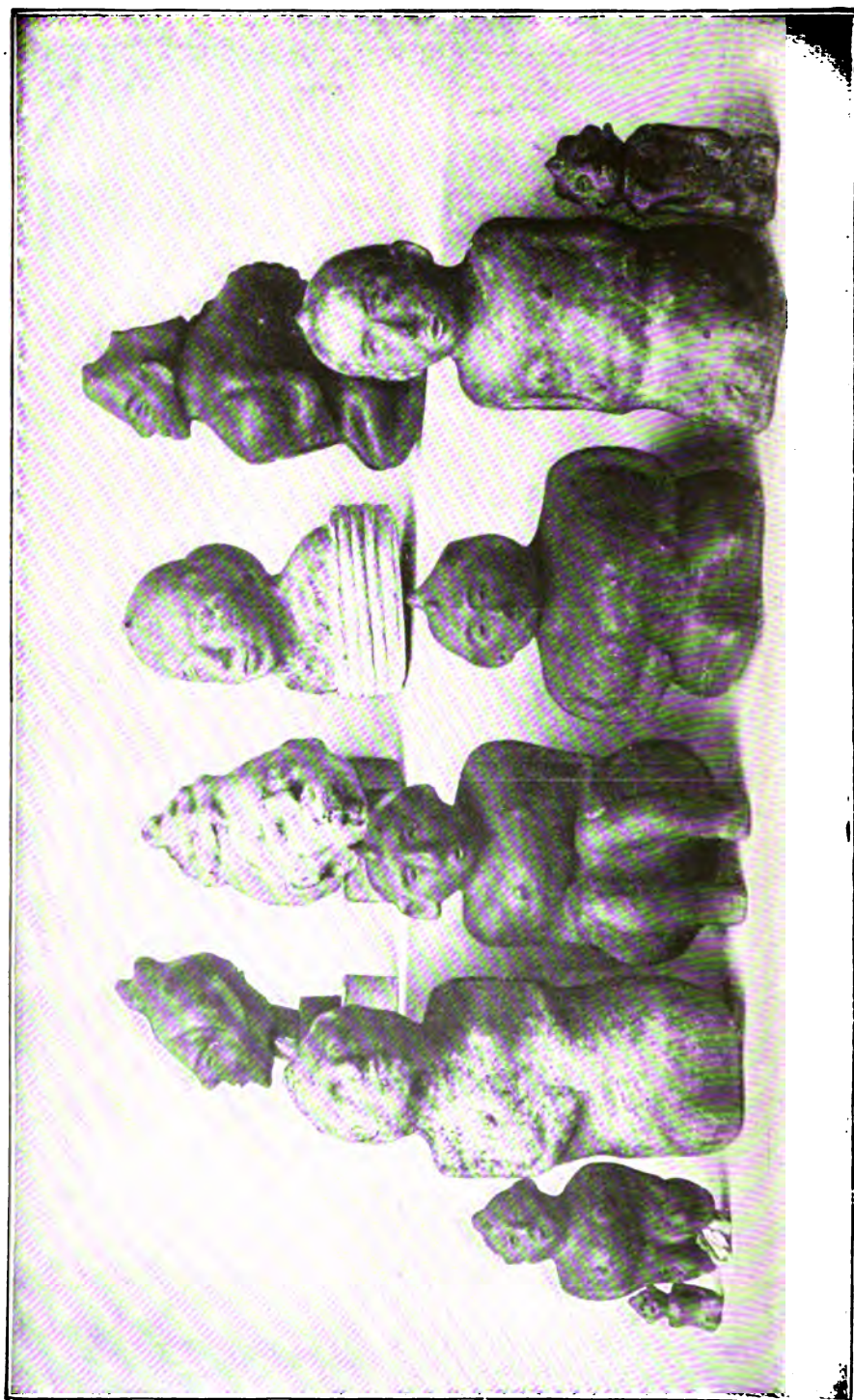
15. David W. Hailey, Asst. Wagon Master 14th Dec. 1814, absent on command.

16. Samuel Bruff, Asst. Topogl Engineer, engaged 9th Nov. 1814. Absent on command at Fort Jackson. P. Martin, Private Waiter, engaged 20th Sept. 1814, present. A private waiter to Gen. Nathl. Taylor. The foregoing muster roll exhibits a true statement of the General and Staff of a Brigade of Infantry called into the service of the United States from Tennessee, and mustered by me at [ends here].

There are ten other papers in the lot, but they are generally of less interest than those referred to or printed. One of them, from General Winchester, without date, is as follows:

Brig. Gen. Taylor: I find the advance picquet on the Dog Run road withdrawn. By whose order was it done.

J. WINCHESTER B. G.



FIGURINES OF TERRA COTTA FROM BRONZE CHAMBERS. (One third size.) Thurston Collection.

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THE RECENT REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN HISTORICAL TEACHING AND INVESTIGATION IN THE SOUTH.

BY DR. FREDERICK W. MOORE, OF VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY.

[Read before the Tennessee Historical Society, February 9, 1904.]

The last twelve or fifteen years have witnessed in the South a revival in the field of historical instruction and research of such considerable dimensions and marked characteristics that I may claim your attention to the presentation of a summary account of what has been accomplished.

This revival is a part of a general movement, the whole country over, in which the South, though a little tardily, is now coming to have its full share. In the middle of the nineteenth century the study of American history was just coming into prominence. Story, Sparks, Bancroft, Woolsey and Lieber and the Virginia Tuckers—George and H. St. George—are representative names from that period which indicate that the movement, though new and small in comparison with recent activities in the same field, was yet a general one. In the North the movement went on uninterruptedly until the period of the eighties, since which time it has grown with wonderfully accelerated rapidity. In the South it was interrupted by the war.

Compare the situation in the two sections. In the North the development of historical interest and the improvement in methods of research and instruction went on uninterruptedly after the war, it has been said. Indeed, it was greatly promoted by the war. The North had won a victory, it had preserved the nation undivided. It was very proud of its achievement, and it

gloried in the history of the government which its efforts and sacrifices had maintained. This was but the common experience the whole world over, and perfectly in accord with universal human nature. War, especially a successful war, will not fail to arouse the patriotism of its participants to the highest pitch. They will glorify; they will sometimes idealize the war, its results, and the fatherland or government in whose behalf it has been fought. Critics may belittle the War of 1812 and pronounce it a dismal failure from a military and diplomatic point of view. But to the average American it was and it is the second and definite war of independence against England. The Spanish-American War, brief as it was, and little as it jeopardized the national existence, was, at the time and since, frequently remarked for the effect it had in arousing the patriotism of the people, North and South, East and West, and fusing them into a nation, one and indivisible, as thirty-seven years of peace and growing amity had not succeeded in doing. No wonder that the Civil War served to stimulate the interest of the North in history, national and general.

Now the results of that war had an obverse and a reverse side; and the very same results which in the North stimulated an interest in history served in the South to dampen the patriotic ardor of the people for nearly a generation. Only of late has interest in history revived; only in late years have the old Declaration of Independence and the Fourth of July returned somewhat to popular favor. The government, which stood for the nation with the people of the North, and the government in which they gloried, was the very government which had humiliated the people of the South. They could not exult in its glories. It was asking too much of human nature to expect it.

For years the South lay under the dark shadow of this bitter war, and felt the pressure of an administration less regardful

ple kept, for the most part, wisely silent. American political history was tabooed. Out of that period we have, almost an isolated exception, Alexander H. Stephens' "Constitutional View of the War between the States. Its Causes, Character, Conduct and Results, Presented in a Series of Colloquies at Liberty Hall," (2 vols. 8vo, Philadelphia, 1868). Jefferson Davis's "Rise and Fall of the Confederate States" (2 vols., 8vo., New York) did not appear until 1881.

But the times have changed, and it is no longer so. The veteran still feels deeply, but has better control of his feelings. He is sensitive, but no more so, occasion for occasion, south of Mason and Dixon's line than north of it. He is growing old and his fellows are passing away, and it peculiarly behooves the Southern veterans, as self-respecting parents of children and grandchildren who hold them in filial regard, to see to it that their names go down to history untarnished by false accusation and unclouded by misrepresentation. To this end they have grown bold, and have become very active in challenging every statement that is untrue or colored by bias and in putting to record everything that can serve to vindicate them in the eyes of posterity. Though defeated in war, they are determined not to suffer the common lot of the defeated who do not write their own history. If their activities have embarrassed the writing and teaching of history somewhat, it is a circumstance that was very natural and that by nature must be reckoned temporarily. Moreover the embarrassment has been felt chiefly in the common schools. In the colleges it has scarcely been felt at all. Moreover we must set over against it the influence thus exerted upon historical study and investigation.

Battlefields have been marked and monuments erected. Records have been and are being gathered and preserved. Military histories have been written: biographies of notable leaders, histories of regiments and brigades, stories of campaigns. Confederate Bivouacs and Camps and the organizations of the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy have each and all had a part. With this movement, which has especial reference to the Civil War, compare the general national interests represented by the organizations of Daughters of the American Revolution and the

Colonial Dames, whose fields of interest have been those common and undivided national fields of colonial immigration and revolutionary enterprize. That nation is strong for good works and glorious in its achievements indeed in which the glory of the fathers is the ambition of the sons—in which the great ambition of the present generation is to honor the former by emulation.

But the sentimental appeal to filial reverence, good as it is, is not the only occasion of the present revival. The industrial development of the South, with the outward look upon the world that comes with it, the remnants of the old culture, the very lapse of time and rise of a new generation, curious to know the very things the old generation was trying to forget, are others which must be mentioned, but need not be developed here. It is more important to take the time to point out that the proper scientific bent and crowning touch was given to the movement by Johns Hopkins University. Founded more than twenty-five years ago on border ground and under circumstances which identified it with no sect, section or political philosophy, pervaded from the first by a thoroughly scientific atmosphere, the stimulus it gave to graduate work in literature and philology, science and philosophy, the whole country over, has put the American people under a great and lasting obligation. Its work in the field of history and political science suffers nothing in comparison with the magnitude of its contributions in other fields, and the whole country, the North and the South alike, has felt its influence. Unusual inducements were held out to Southern men to become students in Johns Hopkins University. They went there and entered all departments and, graduating, returned, many of them, to wield an influence at home. The contribution of Johns Hopkins has been a very considerable one. Its students from the South are to be counted by the scores. Its graduates who are teaching in the South may be counted by the tens. Within the past twelve or fourteen years one-third of the institutions of collegiate grade in the South have materially extended their departments of history and put them in charge of men who have had the best

tion of like character in America or abroad. Indeed, with two or three exceptions, these men are young Southern men. Professors Riley, of the University of Mississippi; Bassett, of Trinity College, North Carolina; Latane, of Washington and Lee in Virginia; Petrie, of Alabama Polytechnic; Ramage, of Sewanee; McPherson, of the University of Georgia, are examples of young men, Southern born, and bred in history at Johns Hopkins.

Typical of the strong impression which the demands of history have made on those interested in colleges and responsible for their management, is the action of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, regarding the church schools. The board of education of this Church, which was established in 1894, and given ample authority to that end, has decreed and is carrying out a systematic and exacting classification and grading of the institutions supported by the Church. Among other things it is provided that an institution, in order to be recognized as a college giving reputable degrees, must have a faculty of at least seven members of the grade of professor or adjunct-professor—positions which are expected to attract men who have made themselves specialists in some particular line, and one of whom must have had such special training in history. As a result the status of history in the faculty and in the curriculum of these institutions has been materially raised within the last half dozen years.

Early in the history of Johns Hopkins, Doctor Herbert B. Adams led off with a study of Southern conditions, viz.: "Jefferson and the University of Virginia," the first of a series of studies in the history of education by States which was carried on by Doctor Adams as long as he lived, the volumes being printed by the national government. In nearly every case the study of education in a Southern State was committed to a Southerner, and frequently to a native of the State. Not only educational, but institutional and political studies followed, until the Johns Hopkins series of Studies in Political Science abounds in articles

merate, I mention Houston's "History of Nullification in South Carolina," Garner's "History of Reconstruction in Mississippi," and Phillips's "Georgia and State Rights," which won the Justin Winsor Prize awarded by the American Historical Association in December, 1900.

While the amount of work in administration and instruction which falls to the lot of the professor in the small college, like those of the South, occupies much of his time and exhausts most of his surplus energy, some few are finding time to conduct original and valuable pieces of investigation. Professor Ficklen, of Tulane, is working on the reconstruction of Louisiana. Professor Fleming, now of the University of West Virginia, has well in hand a very thorough study of Alabama in post-bellum times, a work begun under Doctor Petrie and continued at Columbia. Professor Wallace, now of Wofford College, S. C., began while at Vanderbilt a study of the constitutional history of South Carolina during the Colonial period and the period of early statehood, which has yielded valuable results, supplementing the notable work of McCrady. Professor Thomas, now of Hendrix College, Arkansas, has ready for the press a study begun at Vanderbilt and continued at Columbia on "The Military Governor," being a study of the precedents for an office and for functions which became so prominent in the process of reconstructing the governments of the seceded States. Doctor Phillips, now holding a position at Wisconsin which gives him much time for investigation, is studying the party divisions and industrial conditions of the ante-bellum South in relation to each other. Professor Bassett, of Trinity, has in hand a biography of Andrew Jackson, in the preparation of which he is having advantage of the original collection of papers deposited by General Jackson with Mr. Blair for biographical purposes, as well as other large collections of Jackson papers which were until very recently either unknown.

Garrison, is closely associated with the State archives and the State Historical Society. The archives of the State, including some documents never removed by the Spaniards, and various collections secured by gift, loan, or purchase, are at the service of Professor Garrison. He requires of his advanced students that they shall be able to read Spanish and their tasks are set in some field of undeveloped Texan history. The results are appearing in the successive numbers of the *Quarterly* published by the State Historical Society, in the "History of Texas" in the Commonwealth Series, by Professor Garrison, which came out last summer, and in McCaleb's recent study of "The Aaron Burr Conspiracy," a work which was conceived at the University of Texas, and completed at the University of Chicago. The author found much new material and has produced the completest and most illuminating study of the Burr conspiracy and the part of the Middle West in it which is anywhere extant.

The work of Professor Franklin L. Riley in Mississippi is worthy of a special paragraph. In addition to his classroom instruction in history at the State University, he has breathed the breath of life into the State Historical Society. He won the enthusiastic support of eminent citizens and has enlisted a large number of collaborators throughout the State. At the seventh annual meeting of the Society, January 7 and 8, 1904, a program was offered containing thirty-six titles. Most of the papers were, of course, read by title. But all were submitted for publication and the annual publication has grown into an octavo of 800 or 1,000 pages, for the publication of which the State appropriates annually \$1,000. There is also a "Department of Archives and History," with a salaried curator, with means to preserve and to make some additions to the State's collection of historical treasures.

In the matter of the exercise of official interest in and care for State history the Southern States are now beginning to come to their own. Alabama may head the list. With Peter J. Hamilton, author of "Colonial Mobile," and the enthusiastic, persistent, efficient and genial Thomas M. Owen, State Archivist, leading the movement, and others co-operating, the State legislature has created what there is every reason to expect will remain a per-

manent State "Department of Archives and History," with \$6,000 annually for printing, enlargement, and salaries and supplies. Mississippi appropriates \$3,750 annually to the support of the Department of Archives and History, and the Mississippi Historical Society, as stated. In Missouri the State Historical Society gets \$2,500 annually. In Maryland \$2,000 is annually appropriated to carry on the work of the compilation and publication of the State archives under the direction of the State Historical Society. Tennessee has made a beginning by preparing a small archives room and appropriating \$600 per annum for the compensation of a custodian and cataloguer. Several other States appropriate small sums annually and nearly every State has at some time made appropriations of considerable size for specific objects, as when North and South Carolina procured manuscript copies of the records relating to their colonial history in England, or, somewhat similar, when the Legislature of Tennessee increased its annual appropriation to the Peabody College for Teachers to establish a chair of American history and a magazine of American history.

Permit me, in conclusion, as a member of the Tennessee Historical Society, to suggest that it is high time the Society should be up and doing, emulous to have its share in the movement. The removal of the Society into new and safe quarters—which should be fully consummated within the next eight or ten months—will furnish the occasion and the opportunity. We can then cease to apologize for the risks to which the treasures in our care are exposed. We can go much further and commend our rooms as places of safe deposit exempt from the ravages of fire and other disasters liable to befall private residences. We shall find, too, that people who hesitate to place documents of permanent historical value in the hands of a moribund organization will be glad to commit them to one which shows evidence of indefinite life and activity.

We should make an effort to secure not original material but

experience that the procuring of more and better papers is possible. It will require the efforts of some one who is enthusiastic, energetic, patient, and persistent, and who, withal, will take the time that is necessary to turn failure into success. I have spoken to one gentleman who has a valuable document which ought to be edited and presented to this Society for publication and preservation. The same gentleman bears the name of an ancestor whose life should be sketched. The gentleman is peculiarly able to do the editing in the one instance and to write the sketch in the other, and he will be glad to do so—when he has time. He is a type of a score and more of others in this city and throughout the State, with whom an efficient chairman of Committee on Program or other officer, should keep in close touch until by his persistency and importunity there begins to pour in a stream not large, but steady, of papers of which by reason of their value we shall be proud to become the custodians and publishers.

I would even suggest that once a year, at some convenient season, a special program, extending over more than one day, be prepared, providing an occasion on which we could ask and expect the attendance of members from distant parts of the State.

It is difficult for us to maintain an active membership. Indeed it must seem to many an act of charity worthy of much praise to contribute a fee annually for the safeguarding of collections which they never see and rarely hear of otherwise than by inference from the annual duns of the faithful treasurer. If the Society were more active and gave its members some substantial evidence of its activity in the shape of proceedings comparable in quality with those of other societies of like character it would, I have confidence to believe, get a more generous hearing from a much larger membership. This would contemplate an arrangement by which quarterly, the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

Society would maintain its financial strength by its functional activity.

I venture to commend these suggestions to your attention.

NOTE.

1. In pages 202 to 207 inclusive the writer has followed closely, though with omissions here and elaborations there, the language used by him in a report written by him and published in the "Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Schools of the Southern States, held with the University of Mississippi, November, 1902," entitled: "The Teaching of History in the South—A Report."

2. "Historical Work in the South under the Influence of State Aid and Support," by Thomas M. Owen, State Archivist of Alabama, a paper read before the American Historical Association, New Orleans, December 30, 1903.

PAPER MAKING IN TENNESSEE.

BY R. A. HALLEY.

An art most intimately connected with literature and the making of books, and consequently with the preservation of history, is the art of the paper maker. In this day of speed in making enormous quantities of paper and its lavish, even wasteful, use it is hard to realize how precious a commodity it once was, when each sheet was treasured as many a valuable document is to-day. Though some paper is still made by hand, yet the process has been vastly improved, and the hand maker of paper now turns out in a day what would once have been a vast product for a fortnight.

Paper was an invention made necessary by the growing desire to preserve the record of things done. Preservation through tradition was followed by the inscription of records on stones; then inscribed bricks were burned and laid away in the most ancient of libraries. The obelisk took the place of stones and rough boulders, and pictured stories were graven on tablets and placed in the temples. Monarchs used stone; the common people used clay, and baked it. Assyria and Chaldea recorded daily events on clay tablets, which now furnish us a picture of the home life and public character of the people, since we have learned to read them again. Babylon and Nineveh used terra cotta for bank notes, deeds, letters, and public records; on one ancient tablet is inscribed the earliest love letter known to us, dating back thousands of years. In the British Museum is a tablet of Nile clay, on which is a proposal of marriage written forty years before Moses engraved the Ten Commandments on stone. In it a Pharaoh asks the hand of a daughter of the Babylonian king. Plates of metal were used, and then the skins of animals. Homer's works in the days of the Ptolemies were preserved in one of the great Egyptian libraries, written on serpents' skins. Ivory was used; and in Rome wooden tablets were used for the daily record, which was exposed in the public

places—an early newspaper enterprise. Leaves of the olive, palm, and poplar were prepared and used. Then came the papyrus; and when a primitive trust controlled the papyrus and confined its sale to Egypt, parchment was made serviceable.

The papyrus was the original paper, but the Chinese made the first actual paper from mulberry bark by methods similar to the hand method of making paper which followed; and when the Arabs conquered Samarkand in 704, they brought the secret home with them. Western Europe learned it from the Arabs during the crusades and introduced it into France in 1189. John Tate, probably the first man to make paper in England, died in 1498.

From the earliest Egyptian papyrus to the paper of to-day the predominant characteristic of paper has been that it consists of the enduring portion of vegetable growth known as "cellulose," or pure fiber, though leaves, blossoms, and stems have, in turn, furnished the raw material. By the old hand method, rag fiber, after being beaten to pulp, was formed into a sheet in a mold, or wire sieve, which was dipped from the pulp vat by hand, the water drained off, and the pulp left in a wet layer in the mold. These sheets were turned out on a felt, pressed, and dried by exposure to the air in single sheets. These mills employed but a few hands, and their product was limited.

As early as 1690 paper was made at Roxboro, near Philadelphia, by William Rittenhouse, the first American paper maker. In 1729 the Ivy Mills were built on Chester Creek, in Delaware County, Pa., by Thomas Wilcox; and here hand-made paper was produced up to 1866. This mill made the paper for Benjamin Franklin and during the Revolution supplied the paper for the Continental currency. Paper is still made by hand for books printed in special editions, and is in such demand that a number of hand mills are kept busy supplying it.

Paper-making machinery was invented by Louis Robert, of Evreux, France, about 1780, and by this the enormous

used until after the middle of the nineteenth century, when wood was introduced, the first wood pulp being made in the United States by the alkali process in 1854; but the mechanical grinding of the pulp was introduced at Stockbridge, Mass., in 1867, the pulp so ground being used in a paper mill at Lee. A small proportion of pulp was at first introduced into the paper stock, and this quantity was increased as progress was made in the art of making pulp, until now all the news paper, and by far the larger part of book paper, contains nothing else but wood pulp. The progress from the early days to now can be best appreciated by two illustrations of the methods. An old-fashioned establishment at Sunnydale, N. Y., in which the proprietor prepares the stock, operates the machine, finishes and sells the product, makes about 1,000 pounds of tissue a week; a new plant at Millinocket, Me., probably having the largest tonnage in the world, turns out 250 tons of finished paper every twenty-four hours. Spruce and poplar furnish the pulp for paper, with very small quantities of other woods. Except for higher or special grades, wood-pulp paper has driven all other kinds out of the market.

The enormous increase in paper making in fifty years is shown by these figures: From 443 paper mills in 1850, with 6,785 wage earners, the growth was to 763 mills in 1900, with 49,646 wage earners. Wages paid in a year increased from \$1,497,792 to \$20,746,426; the value of the product increased from \$10,187,177 in 1850 to \$127,326,162 in 1900. In the ten years from 1890 to 1900 the capital invested showed an increase of 86.7 per cent, or nearly double, representing, nearly all of it, enlargement of old plants rather than the construction of new ones. Two-thirds of the total horse power is, and has been for many years, developed by water wheels. Seventeen mills use no power at all.

Tennessee has now no paper mill in operation. In the past this State has, however, done a great deal toward the devel-

making paper and came to Knoxville very early in the nineteenth century—probably in 1806—and married there. Many years previous to 1837 (the date cannot be ascertained accurately) he built a paper mill on Middle Brook Creek, about four miles from Knoxville, and successfully operated it until his death, in 1840. The machinery for this mill, which was exceedingly primitive, though fully up to that date, was hauled in wagons from Philadelphia, there being at that time no other means of transportation from Philadelphia to Knoxville. At his death the mill was sold; and a paper mill at or near the same site was long operated by Gideon Hazen, after whose death or retirement the mill ceased to operate.

The son of W. S. Whiteman I., W. S. Whiteman II., grew up with a thorough knowledge of the business of making paper, and was a great mechanical genius, as well as a first-class man of business. About 1838 he came to Nashville, with means which was considered a fair amount of capital in that time, and interested John A. McEwen, O. B. Hays, and John M. Hill, all of whom were leading pioneer citizens of Nashville, in the building of a paper mill where the city work-house now stands, on the Cumberland River. This was about 1838. The operation of this mill continued for about eleven or twelve years under this joint ownership; and at the end of that time Mr. Whiteman purchased the interests of the other parties interested and afterwards interested in his enterprise Mr. W. O. Harris, the chief owner and manager of the Banner, in building another up-to-date mill on the White's Creek Pike about eight miles from Nashville, to which the machinery of the Nashville mill was at first removed; but this was afterwards disposed of and improved machinery substituted. These gentlemen also built a pulp mill at what was afterwards known as "Loggin Springs," on Paradise Ridge, simply for preparing pulp for use at the White's Creek mill.

were able to increase the output of the mill on the White's Creek Pike. The business grew to be very profitable.

In a few years, however, Mr. Harris sold his interest to Mr. Whiteman, who operated the mill successfully in the manufacture of news, book, Manila, and wrapping paper until the fall of Fort Donelson. The product of this mill was first-class in every respect, and was shipped to every quarter of the United States. During the Civil War, up to the fall of Fort Donelson, this mill never stopped running, night or day or Sunday, except to clean the scales from the boilers. The Confederate bank notes were printed almost altogether on paper made in this mill, as well as other government securities. The output was the largest of any mill in the South. In the meantime Mr. Whiteman's mechanical genius came to his aid and enabled him to perfect many valuable improvements in the existing modes of paper manufacture, one of which was the diamond-shaped plates for beating pulp, which he, unfortunately, did not patent, but which were generally substituted for the plates formerly used by all the mills throughout the country. The invention would have brought him greater returns if patented than he ever received from the uniformly successful operation of his mills.

About the beginning of the war Mr. Whiteman built another mill in the old Stone Fort, near Manchester, in Coffee County, to which he removed the machinery of the White's Creek mill. He also built a powder mill there. The powder mill was blown to "kingdom come" by the Federals. The paper mill was afterwards burned, but was rebuilt by Judge W. P. Hickerson several years after the war had ended, he having bought the property in the meantime.

During the war there were not many paper mills in the South, and one of the most serious problems confronting the printer was to procure white paper. The burning of the big paper mill at Augusta, Ga., the largest in the South, about the middle of the year, was regarded as a national calamity for that reason. Other paper mills of the period were located at Richmond, Va.; one in South Carolina, probably at Bath; and one at Marietta, Ga., the latter operated by James Byrd, an uncle of W. S. Whiteman III., of Nashville. As the South

could not, or did not, manufacture wires and felts, which the paper mills required, they were brought through the lines, like many other necessary articles, by blockade runners, being hauled in wagons through the mountains of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia.

After these events and after the war, W. S. Whiteman III., the present bearer of the name, who had also grown up in the paper business, organized a stock company and ineffectually tried to rehabilitate the old Nashville Paper Mills, which had been built by Sam. Scott and others and operated by various parties during the few years of its existence. Mr. Whiteman bought the property and started the enterprise, with fair promise of success; but it failed, because of the fact that progress in paper making had been rapid in the years immediately following the war, and the machinery in the mills and the methods employed were much out of date. But the chief reason which contributed to the failure of the enterprise was the fact that the water of Brown's Creek was muddy for a great part of the time and unfit for washing stock, and this trouble could not be obviated. Mr. Whiteman advised his associates in the business to wind up the affairs of the company; but they leased the mills to Northern manufacturers, who thought they could remedy the trouble with the water. Three more ineffectual efforts were made by others skilled in paper making. They all met with failure, owing mainly to the water, and had to abandon their efforts. Mr. Whiteman bought out the other stockholders and dismantled these mills, selling the machinery piece by piece as occasion offered.

Despite the failure of these efforts, there is no better place than Nashville for the manufacture of paper in an up-to-date paper mill. The raw material is here in abundance, the demand for the product of every grade is here, the capital is here, and all that is lacking is the skill and the enterprise. When W. S. Whiteman II. manufactured where the city workhouse now stands, Nashville consumers and dealers would not purchase the product, there being a fixed belief among them that manufacturing could not be carried on successfully by the Southern people. The product was shipped North, sold by commission houses there, and returned to the

Nashville people, who used it and pronounced it far superior to the homemade paper, not knowing that it was made almost within their sight. This spirit has not yet entirely disappeared, and stands greatly in the way of many commendable and worthy local enterprises in Tennessee. Even in that day homemade goods were not thought to be as good as those made North; neither was it considered as honorable by many people to manufacture as it was to plant cotton and raise negroes. That latter feeling has passed, though the prejudice against the home article is still to be found. The people are moving to the front in many manufacturing enterprises, and should ultimately make this the manufacturing section of the country, under the changing conditions.

The original mill built by W. S. Whiteman, the grandfather of W. S. Whiteman, of Nashville, was also the distributor of, and largest wholesale dealer in, the old blue-back spelling book, which will be remembered by many now living. One of the greatest difficulties experienced in those days when little manufacturing was done in the South was the lack of skilled labor, which had to be brought from the North altogether at first. The employees were, in consequence, always ready to make unreasonable demands and exactions, which had to be provided against by training home mechanics. Both white and black were thus trained, Mr. Whiteman himself owning several negroes who were fully trained to the business of paper making.

THE DEATH OF MERIWETHER LEWIS.

BY J. H. MOORE.

The inauguration a few weeks ago of the Exposition at St. Louis to commemorate the acquisition by the United States Government of that magnificent area included in the Louisiana Purchase has revived interest in the two men, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, selected by Mr. Jefferson to explore it and to obtain for him and for the country information of the value and possibilities of the new territory. This interest is deepened to readers of history by the proposed publication in the immediate future of the original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, with maps showing the route of the explorers, portraits, facsimiles of pages of the manuscripts, diaries, memoranda, etc., which, in their entirety, have not heretofore been accessible to the public.

The distinguished career of Captain Clark subsequent to the expedition is well known. He was, successively, Indian agent and brigadier general for Upper Louisiana, Governor of Missouri from 1813 to 1821, and superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis until his death, in 1838.

Meriwether Lewis, the actual head of the expedition, was first a lieutenant in the American Army, later a captain, and had earnestly solicited Jefferson for an appointment as leader of an expedition to the Northwest, which the American Philosophical Society contemplated long before the Louisiana Purchase. The project took no shape until later, when Lewis received the appointment he had sought.

Returning from the expedition, Lewis resigned his commission as captain in 1807, becoming immediately Governor of Louisiana, which office he held from March 3 of that year until his tragic death—October 11, 1809.

It is to be noted here that Lewis, prior to the expedition, had been for two years private secretary to President Jefferson, who states in his "Memoir of Lewis" that he had "opportunities of knowing him intimately." They were, besides.

residents of the same county in Virginia (Albemarle), and, it has been said, were related.

Many accounts of Lewis' death have from time to time been published, nearly all based upon tradition, upon the alleged contemporaneous sentiment of the community in which the tragedy occurred, upon an absence of a motive for suicide, or the existence of motive for murder, etc. Many of these accounts have been inaccurate and highly colored, and in some cases without any foundation whatever.

On account of my long residence in a town not far distant from where Lewis died; my intimate professional connection with the descendants of Griner, who has been charged with the murder of Lewis; and my frequent discussion of the subject, not only with them, but with many of the oldest citizens of the locality, particularly the old negroes, Pete and Lindy (slaves in Griner's family and present at Lewis' death), I deem it proper to submit the information I have obtained.

These facts will be conceded: That Lewis, while Governor of Louisiana, with his seat of office at St. Louis, smarting under an actual or imagined injustice done him at Washington (said to have been the refusal to honor his drafts for money to meet the necessities of the organization and government of the new territory), started down the Mississippi River by boat, carrying with him many vouchers and public documents and expecting to take a vessel from New Orleans to the East. At Chickasaw Bluffs (Memphis) he was led to believe that war with England was imminent. Fearing capture and, above all, the loss of the papers, on which he relied for his vindication, he procured horses at Chickasaw Bluffs and started over the Natchez Trace for Nashville, intending probably to go thence to Washington by way of Lexington or Louisville, Ky. He had two servants—one, a foreigner named "Perney" or "Pernea;" the other, a negro.

Major Neely, Indian agent at Chickasaw Bluffs, accompanied the Governor until the loss of two pack horses. He stopped to search for them, agreeing to join Lewis at the next white man's house on the road, which was Griner's.* Lewis

*The correct spelling of the name is "G-r-i-n-e-r," but it is usually pronounced "Grinder."

reached the place during the afternoon of October 10, 1809, and that night received two or more gunshot wounds, which caused his death early the next day—whether inflicted by his own hand, as I believe, or by that of another, as many writers have claimed, is the question which has been discussed at intervals ever since.

One of the earliest statements of the details of the death of Governor Lewis was given to the public by the great scientist, Dr. Alexander Wilson, who, passing through Nashville on his way to Natchez, Miss., stopped at the Griner Stand, where Lewis died, and obtained from Mrs. Griner an account of the tragedy, which was printed in the *Portfolio* (a magazine published in Philadelphia, Pa.) for January, 1812. His letter was dated "Natchez, May 28, 1811"—about eighteen months after Lewis' death and about two years before the date of President Jefferson's "Memoir of Lewis," prefixed to "The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition." I have seen the letter in print only in the *Portfolio*, though it is quoted freely by Dr. Elliott Coues in his edition of the history of the expedition (1893); and I, therefore, copy in full that part which refers to Governor Lewis' death. Its chief value lies in the fact that it came from an able and highly intelligent man, a personal friend of Lewis, and, therefore, interested in all that concerned him, who received his information directly from an eyewitness of the tragedy, in the room where it occurred, and not very long afterwards.

Another remarkable fact is that the account given by Dr. Wilson in 1811 should be so nearly identical in its material details with the story told me, possibly seventy-five years later, by the negroes, Pete and Lindy Griner, who, of course, had never heard of Dr. Wilson's letter.

"May 6, 1811.

"The next morning (Sunday) I rode six miles to the house of a man named 'Griner,' where our poor friend, Lewis, perished. In the same room where he expired I took down from Mrs. Griner the particulars of the melancholy event, which affected me extremely. This house, or cabin, is seventy-two miles from Nashville, and is the last white man's house as you enter the Indian country. Governor Lewis, she said, came there about sunset, alone, and inquired if he could stay

for the night, and, alighting, brought his saddle into the house. He was dressed in a loose gown—white, striped with blue. On being asked if he came alone, he replied that there were two servants behind, who would soon be up. He called for some spirits and drank a little. When the servants arrived, one of whom was a negro, he inquired for his powder, saying he was sure he had some powder in a canister. The servant gave no distinct reply; and Lewis, in the meanwhile, walked backward and forward before the door, talking to himself. Sometimes, she said, he would seem as if he were walking up to her, and would suddenly wheel around and walk back as fast as he could. Supper being ready, he sat down, but had eaten but a few mouthfuls, when he started up, speaking to himself in a violent manner. At these times, she said, she observed his face to flush, as if it had come on him in a fit. He lighted his pipe, and, drawing a chair to the door, sat down, saying to Mrs. Griner, in a kind tone of voice: ‘Madam, this is a very pleasant evening.’ He smoked for some time, but quitted his seat and traversed the yard as before. He again sat down to his pipe, seemed again composed, and, casting his eyes wistfully toward the west, observed what a sweet evening it was. Mrs. Griner was preparing a bed for him; but he said he would sleep on the floor, and desired the servants to bring the bearskins and buffalo robe, which were immediately spread out for him; and it being now dusk, the woman went off to the kitchen, and the two men went to the barn, which stands about two hundred yards off. The kitchen is only a few paces from the room where Lewis was; and the woman, being considerably alarmed by the behavior of her guest, could not sleep, but listened to him walking backward and forward, she thinks, for several hours, and talking aloud, as she said, ‘like a lawyer.’ She then heard the report of a pistol and something fall heavily on the floor and the words: ‘O Lord!’ Immediately afterwards she heard another pistol shot, and in a few minutes she heard him at her door calling out: ‘O, madam, give me some water and heal my wounds!’ The logs being open and unplastered, she saw him stagger back and fall against a stump that stands between the kitchen and the room. He crawled for some distance, raised himself by the side of a tree, where he sat about a minute. He once more got to the room. Afterwards he came to the kitchen door, but did not speak. She then heard him scraping the bucket with a gourd for water, but it appears that this cooling element was denied the dying man. As soon as day broke, and not before, the terror of the woman having permitted him to remain for two hours in the most deplorable situation, she

sent two of her children to the barn, her husband not being at home, to bring the servants. On going in, they found him lying on the bed. He uncovered his side and showed them where the bullet had entered. A piece of the forehead was blown off and had exposed the brains, without having bled much. He begged that they would take his rifle and blow out his brains and he would give them all the money he had in his trunk. He often said: 'I am no coward; but I am so strong, so hard to die.' He begged the servant not to be afraid of him, for he would not hurt him. He expired in about two hours, or just as the sun rose above the trees.

"He lies buried close by the common path, with a few loose rails thrown over his grave. I gave Griner the money to put a post fence around it to shelter it from the hogs and from the wolves, and he gave me his written promise that he would do it.

"I left this place in a very melancholy mood, which was not much allayed by the prospect of the gloomy and savage wilderness which I was just entering alone."

Dr. Wilson appended to his letter a poem which he had written and dedicated to the memory of Lewis, and in which these stanzas occur:

"The anguish that his soul assailed,
The dark despair that round him flew,
No eye, save that of Heaven, beheld,
None but unfeeling strangers knew.
"Bereaved of Hope's sweet angel form,
Griefs rose on griefs, and fears on fear;
Poor Reason perished in the storm,
And Desperation triumphed here."

Among my particular friends prior to his death was Elijah Walker, of Savannah, Tenn., but a native of Hickman County, a lawyer distinguished alike for his uprightness and his ability. Chief Justice Nicholson pronounced him, in conversation with me, one of the purest men and one of the best lawyers he had ever known. He was judge of the Fourteenth Judicial Circuit of Tennessee from 1849 until 1861 and of the Tenth Circuit from 1870 until 1873. He knew not only the Griners, at whose house Governor Lewis died, but practically all of the old people living in the country at the time. He had given the death of Lewis a thorough investigation, and was a firm believer in the innocence of Griner.

Nearly all of the accounts of the death of Lewis agree in saying that there were present at the house, besides the Governor and his servants, Mrs. Griner and her very young daughter, and two negro children—Pete, aged about thirteen years, and Lindy, aged about twelve years. Probably the last two were too young to be of any aid to Griner in gathering the crop on the Swan Creek farm, some miles away, where he had gone, and were left to assist Mrs. Griner at the tavern. Pete, before the emancipation, was the servant of Judge Walker; and I have frequently heard him tell the story of the tragedy, which he remembered perfectly. It differed in no material way from the account given by Lindy, except that, negrolike, each claimed to have seen and heard more than the other; but the story of the one is the story of the other.

When Pete died, Judge Walker suggested to me that Lindy was the last living witness of the death of Lewis; that my father had been a member of the Legislature which authorized the erection of the monument to Lewis, was instrumental in securing the appropriation for it, and was chairman of the committee appointed to build it; and that, as the descendants and relatives of Griner had long been my neighbors, friends, and clients, it was almost my duty to see that the true story of the deplorable tragedy was preserved. I, therefore, visited Lindy and took full notes of the conversation with her, which I still have. Upon these notes I based a communication to the Maury County Sentinel, and it was also published later in the Hickman Pioneer in a condensed form. I have these two, but have been unable to secure a copy of the paper furnished to the Sentinel.

Lindy stated that late in the afternoon the Governor rode up to the house alone and asked Mrs. Griner if he could stay for the night. She replied: "Yes; but there is no man here to care for your horse." He replied: "That makes no difference, as my servants will be on in a short time." Soon thereafter two servants, one white and one black, came up on horses, with one or two pack horses. She says that the white man's name was "Perney" and that he was a Spaniard or some sort of a "furiner." The servants, after removing the packs,

took charge of the horses and repaired to the stables. The Governor at once began to walk up and down the yard, talking to himself and muttering. His conduct was so peculiar and his appearance so strange and unusual that Mrs. Griner became alarmed, so much so that she went, carrying all the children—that is, her child and Pete and Lindy—to the kitchen, which was several yards from the “big house,” as she called it. Soon after, Mrs. Griner and Lindy went up to arrange the beds for the night. The Governor said they need not prepare any bed for him, as he preferred to sleep on his buffalo robe on the floor (which he had done on the entire trip), and they spread the robe down for him. The servants said they were afraid to stay in the house with him, as he had been acting strangely for the last two or three days, and went off to the barn to sleep.

The Governor did not lie down; he continued to walk—sometimes in the house and then in the yard—continually talking to himself and repeating: “They have told lies on me and want to ruin me.”

The children soon went to sleep, but Mrs. Griner could not and sat up all night. Just before day all were aroused by the report of firearms. Two shots were fired in rapid succession. Immediately Perney came running to the house, and the Governor crawled to the door and called for water. They all went together to the house, and found the Governor writhing in pain on the floor. Mrs. Griner asked: “Why in the world did you do this?” He replied that if he had not done it, some one else would. “They are telling lies and trying to ruin me.” He was bleeding profusely from a wound in the body near the heart. He drank great quantities of water, and would immediately throw it up. He lingered in great agony until twelve o’clock, when he died. He was buried just outside of the inclosure where the monument stands.

The next fall, Lindy said, two of the sisters of the Governor

property, I think she said, from the house of Mr. Albert Griner's son, who was at the time in the Confederate Army. Old Lindy said the Lewis visitors were "fine ladies," and seemed very thankful for the kindness and attention shown their relative in the last hours of his life.

Mrs. Griner, the widow of Capt. Robert Griner, who was a son of the owner of the Griner Stand, was present at the interview with Lindy, and said the story was substantially the same as she had heard it often told by her mother-in-law.

While not in the language, this is the substance of what Lindy said.

The idea that Governor Lewis was murdered by Griner was given wide circulation by an article which appeared in the Nashville American of September 6, 1891, over the signature "John Quill," and which was reprinted in the same paper on January 4, 1903. The communication, as it originally appeared, was illustrated with a picture of Lewis and probably the first photograph ever made of his monument. It was written by Mr. James D. Park, the regular correspondent of the American at Franklin, Tenn., and a gentleman of the best character. While the communication contained many inaccuracies, no blame attaches to its writer, other than he permitted himself to be imposed upon by a garrulous and sensational old woman. His information was based entirely upon the story of Mrs. Christina Anthony, who, when Mr. Park saw her, was seventy-seven years of age and kept a little tavern in the town of Newburg, Lewis County, Tenn. So far from living all her life near the scene of the tragedy, as represented to Mr. Park, she spent most of it in Lawrence County. I knew her well. One of her daughters had eloped with one of the Griners, which she never forgave. Here is one of her statements:

"Griner soon afterwards [i. e., after the death of Lewis] removed to the western part of the State, and, it was reported in his old neighborhood, had bought a number of slaves and a farm, and seemed to have plenty of money. Before this he had always been quite poor."

The following is taken from Spence's "History of Hickman County, Tenn.," pages 49, 50:

"About 1807 the upper end of the bend [Shipp's] was settled by Robert Griner, Sr. . . . The next year he moved out on the Natchez Trace, and had an inn where the Lewis monument now stands. This was then in Hickman County, but is now in Lewis County, named for Meriwether Lewis, who committed suicide here in 1809. . . . The regularity of some of Lewis' official transactions was being questioned, and he was hastening along the Natchez Trace en route to Washington City for the purpose of demanding an investigation, when one night in 1809 he came to Griner's Stand, accompanied by two servants—one white and one black. One of these was named 'Perney.' When Lewis reached the Stand, he had been drinking, and was in such a highly excited state that his servants feared him and would not sleep in the room with him. During the night three shots were heard; and when Lewis' room was entered, he was found lying near the door, begging for water. He lived until noon of the following day, and was buried near by, where a monument to his memory was erected by the State. This account of Lewis' death is substantiated by a statement made in 1879 by Linda, a negro woman who was born in 1797. She was a slave of Robert Griner, Sr., and was present on the night of Lewis' death, and saw him before and after his death. A few years later Griner returned to the north side of Duck River and settled where he had first located."

Professor Wilson's letter shows that Griner was living at the Stand in May, 1811. The Register's books in Hickman County show that he bought a tract of one hundred acres of land in that county in 1814 for \$250, and another one hundred acres adjoining the first in 1824.

As a matter of fact, the family has lived in Hickman County for nearly one hundred years. While few of the name have been prominent, they have been substantial and respectable people. Robert E. Griner, son of the owner of the Stand, was the senior captain in the Thirty-sixth Regiment of Tennessee Militia in 1834; another son, Albert S. Griner, was captain in the Ninety-seventh Regiment in 1837, lieutenant colonel in 1839, and colonel in 1840. Others of the name served in the Mexican War of 1845 and the Civil War of 1861-1865; others have intermarried with the Shipp, Easons, and other

"The conduct of Mr. Neeley, the Indian agent, as mentioned in Mr. Jefferson's account, seems to have been very strange. . . . They had servants and horses in their train, yet the recovery of two horses that had strayed from the camp was deemed by Mr. Neeley of more importance than the welfare and safety of his friend. The accounts do not show that he ever found them or ever caught up with Governor Lewis and saved his priceless records and papers after his death."

It is safe to say that Neeley did in the premises what Lewis wanted him to do. If the strayed pack horses bore the receipts and documents on which Lewis relied for vindication from slander and injustice, their recovery was imperative. Without these, his journey to Washington was naught; his vindication, impossible; his character as a high and trusted official, jeopardized, if not ruined. Neeley knew the country—its roads and its inhabitants; Lewis and his servants did not. What is strange in Neeley's undertaking to find the missing property? But the papers were recovered. In the "Conquest," a rather highly-colored story of the Lewis and Clark expedition, by Eva Emery Dye (1902), occurs this passage (page 344):

"When at last the trunks arrived at Washington, they were found to contain the journals, papers on the protested bills, and the well-known spyglass used by Lewis on the expedition; but there were no valuables or money."

In the Preface to the story the author acknowledges her obligations to many persons of the families of both Lewis and Clark—and names, among them, C. Harper Anderson, of Virginia, the nephew and heir of Meriwether Lewis—for letters, documents, family traditions, etc.; and the statement in an article from Mr. W. J. Webster, of Columbia, in the Nashville American of May 23, 1904, that the servants had never been accounted for, is met by a paragraph from the "Conquest" that Pernea visited Charlottesville, Va., subsequent to Lewis' death; that Lewis' mother refused to see him; and that years afterwards Lewis' sister and her husband obtained from Pernea, in Mobile, Ala., the Governor's watch and rifle. Surely Mrs. Dye did not make these assertions without good authority.

All through the article of Mr. Park and the more recent ones in the *American* by Mr. Webster and Maj. E. C. Lewis runs the idea that the sentiment of the neighborhood at the time was that Governor Lewis had been murdered, and in most of the articles the guilt is charged to Griner.

The committee appointed by the Legislature of Tennessee to erect the monument to Governor Lewis—composed of Edward Dillahunt, Barclay Martin, Robert A. Smith, and Samuel B. Moore—uses this language in its report to the Legislature of 1849-1850:

“The impression has long prevailed that, under the influence of disease of the body and mind—of hopes based upon long and valuable services, not merely deferred, but wholly disappointed—Governor Lewis perished by his own hand. It seems more probable that he died by the hands of an assassin.”

The place at which he was killed is even yet a lonely spot. It was then wild and solitary and on the borders of the Indian Nation.

Maj. C. L. Clark, a son of Governor Clark, of Missouri, in a letter to Rev. Mr. Cressey, of Maury County, says:

“Have you ever heard of the report that Governor Lewis did not destroy his own life, but was murdered by his servant, a Frenchman, who stole his money and horses, returned to Natchez, and was never afterwards heard of? This is an important matter in connection with the erection of a monument to his memory, as it clearly removes—from my mind, at least—the only stigma upon the fair name I have the honor to bear.”

The legislative committee clearly indicates that the theory of suicide was general up to 1848; and while it does not say so, it no doubt got its impression of murder from the letter of Major Clark, and it does not mention Griner in connection with it.

After a residence in Hickman County of more than three-score years and after practicing law in that county and the adjoining counties from the termination of the Civil War until a few years ago, I have yet to find in any of them any considerable number of persons who thought Governor Lewis

had been murdered; and a letter recently received from Mr. Claggett, of Hickman County—a very old and highly respected gentleman—states that the murder theory is comparatively new.

I have no doubt it originated in Major Clark's letter published by the legislative committee in 1849. Maj. E. C. Lewis' unbelief that a man who lived in the open as much as Governor Lewis ever had occasion or disposition to take his own life carries no weight in view of the fact, as shown by statistics, that "the rate of suicide for soldiers is enormously in excess of that for any other occupation."

Mr. Jefferson, in his "Memoir of Governor Lewis," says:

"Mr. Neeley, agent of the United States with the Chickasaw Indians, arriving [at Chickasaw Bluffs] two days after Lewis, found him extremely indisposed and betraying some symptoms of a derangement of mind. . . .

"He [Lewis] stopped at the house of a Mr. Griner, who not being at home, his wife, alarmed at the symptoms of derangement she discovered, gave him up the house and retired to an outhouse."

This is substantially the account given by Mrs. Griner to Dr. Wilson and by the negroes, Pete and Lindy, to Judge Walker and to me.

A very much more significant passage occurs in the "Memoir of Governor Lewis;" and while it is worded delicately and charitably, as a man would speak of a dead friend whom he had esteemed and admired, it is easy to see what Mr. Jefferson meant:

"Governor Lewis had from early life been subject to hypochondriac affections. It was a constitutional disposition in all the nearer branches of the family of his name, and was more immediately inherited by him from his father. They had not, however, been so strong as to give uneasiness to his family. While he had lived with me in Washington, I observed at times sensible depressions of mind; but knowing their constitutional source, I estimated their course by what I had seen in the family. During his Western expedition the constant exertion which that required of all the faculties of body and mind suspended these distressing affections; but after his establishment at St. Louis in sedentary occupations, they returned to him with redoubled vigor and began seri-

ously to alarm his friends. He was in a paroxysm of one of these when his affairs rendered it necessary for him to go to Washington."

If Governor Lewis was insane, as is clearly indicated by these various statements, the question of motive for suicide is not worth consideration. Insanity furnishes its own motives.

I believe that Governor Lewis, predisposed by heredity to insanity, having borne for years the trying responsibilities of the expedition, had assumed, with the governorship of the new territory, responsibilities far greater and problems infinitely more perplexing; he had started down the Mississippi River for Washington with the object of justifying official acts which had been repudiated by the government, no doubt chafing with impatience through every mile of the slow and wearisome voyage; he had found at Chickasaw Bluffs all his plans overthrown by the possibility of capture and the loss of his papers; physically exhausted and mentally depressed and disappointed, he had undertaken a most exhausting journey, on horseback, of hundreds of miles, when, at the end of a few days' travel, there fell upon him the worst of all misfortunes—the loss of the receipts and documents which constituted the means of his vindication at Washington. The cord broke which had been stretched so tensely for years; his mind gave way; and, with his own pistol, he ended his troubles and his life.

ANNALS OF A SCOTCH-IRISH FAMILY—THE
WHITSITTS, OF NASHVILLE, TENN.

BY WILLIAM H. WHITSITT, RICHMOND COLLEGE, RICHMOND, VA.

ergo ut miremur te, non tua, privum aliquid da,
quod possim titulis incidere praeter honores,
quos illis damus ac dedimus, quibus omnia debes.

—*Juvenal* VIII, 68-70.

Corrigenda et addenda.—On page 121 above, four lines from the bottom, instead of "Churchhill Blake the Sone of Thomas and Margaret Blake, baptiz. at ye Upper Chap'll 27th ffebry 1686" (p. 31), please read "Churchhill Blake the Sone of Thomas and Margaret Blake was borne 30th of November 1690" (p. 42).

On page 138 above, lines 3 and 4 from the top, it is declared that in the year 1792 the home of James Menees was situated on the hill just north of Menees' Spring, near Flat Rock, in Davidson County. But James Menees did not make the improvement near Menees' Spring until the year 1796. In a deed of gift dated August 1, 1796, conveying to his daughter, Jane, and his son-in-law, James Whitsitt, a tract of 640 acres, he adds: "I reserve 160 acres of said land in the south-west corner, *where I am now improving*, as long as I live." This seems to fix the date of the said improvement. From 1782 to 1784 Menees must have kept his residence within the fort at Nashville. The first land he obtained was lot No. 32, in the original plan of Nashville, containing one acre, which was deeded to him on the 16th of August, 1784. The next purchase that he made was a tract of 100 acres in Scott's pre-emption, Neely's Bend. This land was conveyed to him on the 7th of April, 1789, for £60, lawful money of North Carolina, and seems to have been his earliest home outside of Nashville. This date is of some importance. If, as Phelan says ("History," p. 234, footnote), "James Menees opened a private school at French Lick during the eighties," he must have done it between the years 1782 and 1789. It seems likely

that he began the work of teaching as early as 1784 and continued it until 1789, because in the former year he first acquired a house of his own, where students might be accommodated; and in the latter year he is supposed to have removed to the country. Rev. Thomas B. Craighead began the work of teaching at Haysborough in 1786, and it was some years afterwards before his school was removed to Nashville. The honor of being the earliest schoolmaster of Nashville appears to belong to Mr. Menees.

He was living at the home purchased from James Scott in Neely's Bend as late as 1795, for in that year he made an addition to it by purchasing thirty-eight acres from Robert Hays. The point seems, therefore, to be established that James Menees was living in Neely's Bend, and not at Flat Rock, in December, 1792, when his daughter, Jane, was married to Mr. Whitsitt.

On page 118 above I incautiously followed the tradition which affirms that Gov. John Breathitt was born in Campbell County, Va., not far from New London. This was borrowed from L. Collins' "Historical Sketches of Kentucky," Maysville, 1847, p. 211. But if John Breathitt, as this author affirms, was born on the 9th of September, 1786, he must almost certainly have opened his eyes first on Henry County, Va., since the Breathitts did not leave Henry for Campbell County before the year 1793, at which time John Breathitt was about seven years of age. Furthermore, Governor Breathitt was not the eldest child of his parents, as Collins reports. Jane (Kelley), who married Dr. Sappington, appears to have been the eldest; Cardwell, the second; and John, the third child of the family.

On page 125 above I was unable to specify the county in Virginia in which the lot of the George Blakey there mentioned had fallen. In the Virginia Magazine of History, Vol. IV., p. 105, is given a list of persons holding slaves in Spottsylvania County in the year 1783, and George Blakey is credited with five. It seems likely that he is the George Blakey in question.

On page 79 above it was said that James and Ellinor were



FLINT MACES OR CEREMONIAL IMPLEMENTS. (Two-fifth size.) Thruston Collection.

the only children of Benjamin Menees whose names had been recovered; but in the American Historical Magazine, Vol. V., p. 314, mention is made of Isaac Menees. On the 18th day of July, 1796, Benjamin Menees was appointed justice of the peace for Robertson County, and Isaac Menees was appointed constable. It seems likely that Isaac was a son of Benjamin. Not long afterwards the name "Isaac Menees" is enrolled as a member of Mill Creek Church, in Davidson County. It is supposed to be the same Isaac Menees who had figured in Robertson County.

Triumph of James Menees.—He had succeeded in leading the entire family from Virginia to the Cumberland country. In 1782 he came in person; in 1783 he brought his own household; in 1784 Benjamin Menees followed, with his family; in 1790 came the Whitsitts and the Blakeys, traveling in a famous, large company that departed from East Tennessee in the month of October; and in the autumn of 1799 the Breathitts brought up the rear of the procession. The Whitsitts arrived at the most perilous season of all. They had scarcely established themselves in their new homes before the Indians won two victories over the forces of the government. General Harmer was defeated in 1790; General St. Clair, on the 4th of November, 1791. The courage and ferocity of the Northern Indians were enhanced by these successes, and the Southern Indians also concluded to undertake a general campaign. This befell in the autumn of the year 1792, when they encountered a serious repulse at Buchanan's Station. But they were not yet defeated, and the entire section was filled with roving bands of bloodthirsty savages. They were not reduced until the summer of 1794, when the Nickajack expedition was sent against them.

Dr. Howell reports that in this trying period the families of William Whitsitt and James Menees repaired to the settlements on the Red River, in Robertson County, where it is supposed they enjoyed the company and support of Benjamin Menees and his family. It is not known how long they remained there, but they had returned home before the middle of December, at which time James Whitsitt and Jane Cardwell Menees were married.

Left Behind.—During their sojourn upon Red River the Whitsitt family appear to have obtained a view of the land of Kentucky and to have found it fair to see. Shortly after the stress of the Indian assault, in September, 1792, had passed away, they returned to Nashville; but the charms of the Green River country were hard to forget. For a season it appeared as if they were content with the Cumberland region. As late as the year 1795 William Whitsitt acquired a section of 640 acres in Neely's Bend, which was almost as fertile as the valley of the Nile. It bordered the estate of James Menees, and it appeared that they were to resume here the conditions that had prevailed at Amherst, in Virginia; but on the 13th of September, 1800, in conveying a portion of this land to Tyree Harris, Whitsitt describes himself as a resident of the county of Logan and State of Kentucky; and he had carried to that country all his children, married and unmarried, except his son James.

But James Menees was much at home in Tennessee. His youthful and charming bride was greatly devoted to him, as well as the entire Menees family and many other people. In August, 1796, his father-in-law, James Menees, deeded him an entire section of land upon Mill Creek, although he gave to none of his other children more than half a section. To be sure, he reserved 160 acres of the land bestowed upon Whitsitt, but it was for the purpose of building a house where he might reside in the immediate neighborhood of his honored son-in-law. The desire to be near the church, where he might regularly enjoy the means of grace, appears to have been a ruling passion with him.

It was within the walls of this dwelling at Menees' Spring, on the 15th day of April, 1797, that the existence of Mill Creek Church was formally recognized by other Baptist Churches. Dr. Howell, in his history of these occurrences, plainly affirms that this church had been organized as early as the autumn of 1794, and that Mrs. Whitsitt, together with several members of her father's family, had at that time united with it. If that is true, it was the earliest Baptist interest formed south of the Cumberland River, since the church formed by Mr. Dillahunt in the earlier portion of 1797 had come with

him from North Carolina in the month of March, 1796. (Borum, "Tennessee Baptist Ministers," p. 214.)

Mr. Whitsitt, having been restored to the fellowship of the Baptists and to his position as a licensed minister, had been preaching for the church ever since the autumn of 1794; but he was formally ordained to the ministry on the 15th of April, 1797, in the house of James Menees. Dr. Howell suggests that the service of ordination was performed by Rev. John Dillahunt, of Richland Creek Church, and Rev. Joseph Dorris, of Sulphur Fork Church, in Robertson County. Thus the fire that James Menees brought with him from Amherst, Va., in 1782 had kindled into a new flame among the giant forests of the Cumberland Valley. So far as history takes any account, Menees was the first person holding and teaching the faith of the Baptists to enter the land of Middle Tennessee. It seems to have been due to his interest and exertions that the cause of the Baptists was first established in this far Western country.

Career of Mill Creek Church.—From the beginning it was a famous and honored seat of religious influence. Mr. Menees had been a schoolmaster, and was a person of unusual intelligence. Both his character and accomplishments gave tone and respectability to the struggling enterprise. In my childhood many of his writings were preserved in the library of our home, and I have distinct recollections of a bulky ledger containing calculations in astronomy and other branches of mathematics; but I was unable to appreciate the value of these things, and during the Confederate War they passed out of sight.

Various prominent and cultivated families were attracted to the services of the church. Notable among these were the Fosters, Robert C. and Ephraim H., father and son, who were both distinguished figures in the life of the State. It seemed to be a custom of Ephraim H. Foster, whenever he should make an important speech in the Senate at Washington, to send a bound copy of it to Mr. Whitsitt for his library. Mrs. Dickinson and her daughter, Mrs. John Bell, wife of the statesman of that name, were for a long period pillars of the church; and it was the custom of Mr. Bell himself to worship with his

family whenever his duties to the public would permit him to spend a season at home with his neighbors.

The Hardimans, Perkinses, Ewings, Ridleys, Buchanans, Topps, Everetts, Goodwins, and many others held an honored place in the house of God. The Baptist Churches of Nashville have nearly all been derived from Mill Creek, either in the direct or indirect line of succession. In the rural districts also, such churches as Concord and Antioch, in Davidson, and Rock Spring and Providence, in Rutherford, owed their origin to Mill Creek. For long years Mill Creek held, by tacit consent, a sort of hegemony among the Baptists west of the Cumberland Mountains, in Tennessee; but in 1834 Dr. Howell arrived from Virginia, and the First Church, of Nashville, was then advanced to the foremost position, and has held it ever since. The last enterprise which Mill Creek undertook in the work of leading the Baptist Churches of Tennessee was in the month of October, 1833, when the Baptist State Convention of Tennessee was organized by a body that assembled there.

Some of the ministers with whom Mr. Whitsitt was on intimate terms were: John Dillahunty, father of Judge Edmund Dillahunty, of Columbia; John Wiseman, Jeremiah Varde-man, Richard Dabbs, Peter S. Gayle, Garner McConnico, and Robert B. C. Howell. In the earliest portion of his ministry he stood nearest to Mr. Dillahunty; in middle life Garner McConnico was his principal associate; and in his later years, Robert B. C. Howell. On Sunday, the 14th day of April, 1849, which lacked one day of being the fifty-second anniversary of his ordination, his funeral discourse was preached by Dr. Howell. It was the first sermon of which I have retained any distinct recollections.

Other Tennessee Whitesides and Whitsitts.—In Maury County the names "Samuel Whitesides," "Thomas White-

may have been a sort of transition from "Whiteside" to "Whitsitt."

A recent able work, entitled "Some Virginia Families," by Hugh Milton McIlhany, Jr., M.A., Ph.D., Staunton, Va., 1903, thus refers to William Whiteside I., who was the founder of the Whitsitt family, of Nashville:

"William Whitesides, evidently of English parentage, patented two tracts of land in Albemarle County—one, of 400 acres, March 15, 1741; the other, of 181 acres, July 20, 1768. He and his wife, Elizabeth, afterwards sold both of these properties and removed to Amherst County. They had a family of several children, one of whom was unquestionably James Whitesides, who married Ann Kinney. See Section 4." (P. 27.)

Referring to Section 4, as requested, you will find the following:

"Ann Kinney, usually called 'Nancy'—b. Albemarle County, Sept. 22, 1766; d. Port Republic, Rockingham County, June 26, 1845; m. Amherst County, Aug. 7, 1792, James Whitesides, of the county of Amherst.

"Mrs. Nancy Whitesides was always considered a remarkable woman. She was possessed of a vigorous intellect, with agreeable and entertaining conversational powers, ever enlivening her companions with original humor, and happily told anecdotes, of which she had an unabating fund. She remembered with historical accuracy and narrated with interest facts and incidents of the eventful era in which she was reared, recalling particularly the raid of the British under Tarleton, when the army passed before her father's house.

"About 1795 James Whitesides went with his brother, Samuel, from Amherst County to purchase land in Tennessee. They obtained land near Bean's Station, in Grainger County, where his brother remained; but as he was returning for his family he was drowned in crossing the Tennessee River. His brother stayed in Tennessee and prospered, but died unmarried. After her husband's death, Nancy Whitesides removed, with her infant daughter, Sarah, from Amherst to Augusta County, and lived near Tinkling Spring Church until her daughter's marriage, and thereafter with her son-in-law, Joseph Trout." (P. 5.)

The points above recited are every way worthy of respectful consideration. The fact that the Whitsitts, of

Nashville, have retained no records or traditions concerning other children of their founder, William Whiteside, the immigrant, besides their own immediate ancestor, does not prove that there were no such children. On the contrary, the word of other Whitesides claiming their descent from him may be as valid as our own, in case it can be supported by documentary evidence; and the name "Samuel" is especially significant as applied to the son who is said to have settled in Grainger County, Tenn., for "Samuel" is an ancient and orthodox Whitsitt name.

The Whitesides still abide in Grainger County. In the Official Register of the United States, published July 1, 1901, Vol. II., p. 1000, "James R. Whitesides, of Tate Springs, Grainger County, Tenn.," is set down as one of the rural letter carriers. It seems entirely possible that he may be related to the Nashville family, to say nothing of the eminent and worthy fraternity of the Trouts in the Valley of Virginia.

There are likewise Whitesides in Marion and Hamilton and Bedford, and perhaps in other, counties; but the most important man of the Whiteside name in Tennessee seems to have been Jenkin Whiteside. He first appeared at Nashville on the 17th of December, 1802, as Jenkin Whiteside, of Knox County, and purchased of Francis May lot No. 51, in the original plan of the town, for which he paid \$220. In all subsequent entries (and there were many of them) he uniformly describes himself as Jenkin Whiteside, of Davidson County. He was a Senator in Congress from 1809 to 1811, and, so far as I am aware, is the only man of the name who ever held a seat in that august assembly. Jenkin Whiteside died on the 24th of September, 1822.

Sumner County Whitsitts.—There are Whitsitts in Shelby County who figured among the early settlers of Memphis, and the name of one of them may be found recorded upon a mural tablet affixed to the walls of the First Cumberland Presbyterian Church in that city. But the most important Whitsitts of Tennessee are the Whitsitts of Sumner County.

" Know all men by these presents. that I. Moses Shelby of Tenessee County. & State of No. Carolina, am held & firmly bound unto John Whitsitt of the County of Sumner & State Aforesaid in the penal Sum of Five Hundred pounds of the Cury. Aforesaid. to which payment well &. Truly to be made I. bind Myself my heirs. Executors &c. &c. firmly by these presents. In Witness Whereof I. have hereunto put my hand & Seal the 1st day of November 1790—

" The Condition of the above Obligation is such. that if the above Bound Moses Shelby Shall on Demand Execute. & Make a Deed in Fee Simple to the Said John Whitsitt for Three Hundred &. Forty acres of Land in Sumner County. Being the tract of Land Whereon the Said Whitsitt now lives &. formerly the Property of Isaac Shelby. then this Obligation to be void, Else to remain in full force & Virtue. Witness my hand seals the date before mentioned. Moses Shelby.

" Teste

" Ed. Gamble.

" Wm. Taitt.

" In Lieu of the Words on Demand in the fifth line from the bottom on the other Side say as soon as Moses Shelby & John Whitsitt can possibly have the lines run so as to Complete that Quantity of Land.

" Ed. Gamble.

" Wm. Taitt."

Moses Shelby

John Whitsitt.

Mrs. James K. Polk.—Mrs. Sarah Polk, a granddaughter of the above John Whitsitt, was the mistress of the White House and the first lady of the land from the year 1845 to 1849. No other person of the Whitsitt blood, so far as I am aware, ever reached so lofty a station or was so worthy of the honors bestowed upon her merits. She was always most gracious in claiming kinship with me, and I used invariably to call and pay my respects to her whenever I went to Nashville. We often talked together regarding the details of family history; but being afraid to trust my memory, and likewise unwilling to tax her strength too far in writing down her reminiscences, I adopted the expedient of preparing a list of questions, which was forwarded to a mutual friend, Mrs. Anson Nelson, of Nashville, with the request that she would embrace a suitable opportunity to discuss with the eminent lady all the points suggested and then set down her replies. The result was highly satisfactory. Mrs. Nelson sent me an important his-

torical document in return. Inasmuch as it was originally obtained for the very uses to which I am now putting it, I will humbly ask her pardon for inserting the material portions of it in this place:

"Nashville, 146 North Summer Street,
"September 16, 1890.

"Mrs. Polk listened with lively interest to your letter, and took evident pleasure in talking of the family, seeming pleased to answer your inquiries. In those early times concerning which you are asking there was not so much appreciation of the relation of current events to history as there is now, and it was seldom that note was made of those events. This country was then a comparative wilderness, with little opportunity for recording occurrences or for keeping such records. Mrs. Polk does not know of any register of her ancestry, unless there may be a few names and dates in an old family Bible which was left to another branch of her mother's family and which she supposes is lost. She knows nothing of her ancestors in Scotland or Ireland or of any relatives living in those countries at the present time. The interesting items of tradition about the Whitsitt family in the seventeenth century, given in your letter, were entirely new to her. Mrs. Polk thinks that Mr. Jenkins, the historian, probably had access to sources of information unknown to her and that his statement is correct that her parents were married in Campbell County, Va. She has no record of the date of their marriage.

"The name of Elizabeth Whitsitt's father was 'John;' her mother's name was 'Sarah.' The family name is not remembered by Mrs. Polk. It was for her that the future Mrs. Polk was named 'Sarah.' Mrs. Polk's only sister was named for her father's mother, Susan Childress. John and Sarah Whitsitt lived in Sumner County, Tenn., and were plain country people, but were independent—owned their home, had slaves, and enjoyed the comforts of life. While Mrs. Polk was a child, they were carried to Alabama by their son, Lawrence Whitsitt, where they died at an advanced age. They had a son named 'James Whitsitt.'

"Mrs. Polk says there was no Episcopal Church in the place where her grandparents lived, and she thinks that they must have been Presbyterians, from the fact that her mother, Elizabeth Whitsitt Childress, was a devoted Presbyterian. She brought up her children strictly in the principles of that faith

much older than herself, living in Davidson or Sumner County. Her descendants—the Waltons, of Sumner County—have claimed kin with Mrs. Polk, and she had a namesake, Sarah Polk Walton.”

From the first of the above documents it appears that the Sumner County Whitsitts had arrived in Tennessee as early as the year 1790. In the office of the Register of Davidson County, at Nashville, Book B, page 136, there is another document that also serves to fix the date. It shows that on the 8th of November, 1790, John Whitsitt, of North Carolina, as assignee of the heirs of William Cane, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, entered a section of 640 acres of land on both sides of Smith's Fork, a branch of Caney Fork.

Notwithstanding the fact that both the Nashville document cited above and the bond of Moses Shelby speak of him as John Whitsitt, of North Carolina, there is reason to believe that he had originally come from Virginia. The statement of Mr. Jenkins, the biographer of President Polk, to the effect that Elizabeth Whitsitt was married to Mr. Childress in Campbell County, Va., is worthy of attentive consideration. They were hardly married elsewhere than in the home of the bride's parents. If search could be made for these Whitsitts in the records of Campbell County, it is not likely that it would prove fruitless. It is not unreasonable to suppose that they may have been connected in some way with the Whitsitts of Rockbridge or of Albemarle County.

In the journal of Gov. William Blount it is reported that Isaac Walton was appointed a lieutenant and James Whitsitt was appointed an ensign in the Regiment of Infantry of Sumner County on the 26th of December, 1794. (*American Historical Magazine*, Vol. II., p. 269.) The first was apparently the husband of the elder sister of Elizabeth Whitsitt Childress, and the second was her brother, both of whom are mentioned in the above letter of Mrs. Nelson. With the lights now before us we may conclude that the family of John Whitsitt, of Sumner County, was composed of himself and his wife, Sarah; a daughter (name unknown), who married Isaac Walton, and another named “Elizabeth,” who married Mr. Chil-

dress; together with two sons, who were named, respectively, "James" and "Lawrence."

Isaac Walton was a man of worship in his generation. He was a member of the convention that formed the State Constitution of 1796, and also that of 1834. (Caldwell, "Constitutional History of Tennessee," pp. 166, 168.) If the record were complete, it is likely that we might discover various other public stations in which he was employed.

James Whitsitt, who was appointed ensign in the closing days of December, 1794, rose to the dignity of lieutenant shortly afterwards. In the Tennessee Historical Society there is preserved, in his own handwriting, a provision return for a detachment of infantry under the command of Lieutenant Whitsitt, and it is added that it was "in the Servis of the United States." The return covers the period between the 1st and 30th of April, 1795.

A Puzzle.—In the office of the Register of Davidson County, Book E, page 220, is found a record of a conveyance made by Thomas Molloy, of Davidson, to James Whitesides, of Davidson, and dated August 12, 1800. Was this James Whitesides, of Davidson County, the Rev. James Whitsitt, pastor of Mill Creek Church? Did he ever write his name as "Whitesides?" Could it be possible that this James Whitesides, of Davidson, was the same person as Lieut. James Whitsitt, of Sumner County? Did Lieutenant Whitsitt remove from Sumner to Davidson prior to the year 1800? The main circumstance that seems to favor the conclusion that this was Lieutenant Whitsitt is the fact that the document is witnessed by William Taitt, and it will be remembered that he was one of the witnesses of the bond given by Moses Shelby to John Whitsitt, which has been copied in full above. Whether the party involved was Lieut. James Whitsitt or Rev. James Whit-

"W-h-i-t-s-i-t-t-s" instead of "W-h-i-t-s-i-t-t." The same usage appears on page 134 of this magazine, where he subscribes the bond of Rev. Joseph Anthony. It seemed impossible for him to forget that the name had once been "Whiteside" or "Whitesides."

Genealogical Notices.—James Whitsitt and Jane Cardwell Menees were married at Nashville on the 13th of December, 1792. They were both born in Amherst County, Va.—he, upon the 31st of January, 1771; she, upon the 21st of January, 1776. They spent their whole married life on a farm of 640 acres, on Mill Creek, that had been presented to them by her father, James Menees. The name of their residence was "Solitude," which seems to have been a case of *lucus a non lucendo*, since there were few houses where less of solitude could be obtained. An overflowing hospitality was extended; crowds of guests came and went for many years together. Mrs. Whitsitt died on the 10th of June, 1840, and was buried from Mill Creek Church the following day; Mr. Whitsitt died on the 12th of April, 1849, and was buried from Mill Creek Church on Sunday, the 14th of April. The funeral discourse in each case was pronounced by Rev. R. B. C. Howell, D.D., pastor of the First Baptist Church of Nashville.

Dr. Howell reports that eleven children were born to this couple. Of that number, four died in infancy; and three others reached adult age, but died without issue. The four remaining children who married and had issue were the sons—James (Menees), William, Samuel Dawson, and Reuben Ewing Whitsitt.

James (Menees) Whitsitt's Family.—He married Miss Martha Anthony, of Williamson County. The oldest child of this union was Rev. William Anthony Whitsitt, who was born on the 25th of July, 1816. The names of the other children are also given here, but the order of their succession may not be strictly accurate. They were: Ellen, Jane, Martha, Joseph, Margaret, Ursula, Henry, and Priscilla.

Rev. William Anthony Whitsitt in the year 1839 married Miss Nancy Jane Morton, a daughter of Dr. Samuel Morton, of Williamson County. She died in 1849, leaving one child, Sarah Whitsitt, who married Mr. Thomas Buford, of Thomp-

son's Station, Williamson County. These had one daughter, Mary Buford, who married Mr. William Mallory. He resided about four miles north of Franklin, Tenn., on the line of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. To this union three children were born, one boy and two girls—namely, Buford, Louisa, and Willie Mallory. After the death of Mr. Mallory she married Mr. McFadden, and to this union one child was born.

In the year 1850 Rev. William A. Whitsitt married a second wife—namely, Miss Malinda Weatherly; but to this union no children were born. Mr. Whitsitt died several years ago, but Mrs. Whitsitt still survives in great age and feebleness. She resides at the old Whitsitt homestead, near Concord Church, in Williamson County.

The second child, Ellen, married Mr. D. Fletcher Thompson, who resided in the neighborhood of Thompson's Chapel, on the Nolensville Pike. Two children were born to this union—namely, Margaret and Mary. Of these, the former married Mr. Joseph W. Bigley, who lived on the Mill Creek Valley Pike. Two children were born to this union—namely, Ida and Eugenia Bigley. The first of these died unmarried, and the second married Mr. William Cooper. They live in New York City, and are reported to be in prosperous circumstances. I have no definite information regarding their family.

Mary, the other daughter of Mr. D. Fletcher Thompson and his wife, Ellen Whitsitt, was married to Mr. William Alexander, and they have three children—namely, Shepherd, Thompson, and Lucy. The family have removed to Sumner County.

Jane Whitsitt, the third child of James and Martha Anthony Whitsitt, married Mr. John Thompson, a brother of the aforesaid D. Fletcher Thompson. Their children were: Emma, Charles,

ters, Jessie and Ann Elizabeth. The latter married Dr. Davidson, and is now deceased.

Andrew Jackson Thompson married Miss Anderson, and they have no children.

Martha James Thompson married Mr. Blount Allston, and their children are: Samuel, Atwell, Tulloss, and Mary.

Morgan Thompson, mentioned above, died without issue.

Martha Whitsitt married Mr. William Carothers, of Williamson County, and they had two sons, James Robert and William Whitsitt Carothers. Of these, the elder married his cousin, Miss Pallie Jordan, and they had two sons, William and Robert. The latter was killed by being thrown from a horse in the year 1897. James Robert Carothers is dead, and his widow, with her surviving son, William, is residing at the old James Whitsitt homestead, north of Mill Creek Church.

William Whitsitt Carothers, the younger brother of James Robert, married a Miss Turner, and they had ten children, whose names are unknown to me. He was murdered some years since by an unknown man, whom he permitted to ride with him at night in his wagon on the Nolensville Pike.

Margaret Whitsitt, the next child, married Mr. Farrar, of Williamson County. They had one child, James William Farrar, who died at an early age, a victim of consumption.

Joseph Whitsitt, son of James and Martha Whitsitt, married Miss Barbara Pettus. They had one child, Elizabeth, who married Mr. Allen McCord. They live at Lewisburg, Tenn., and have several children. Joseph Whitsitt died in 1857.

Ursula Whitsitt married Mr. Archer Jordan, of Williamson County. He died of smallpox in the prison at Camp Douglas, near Chicago, Ill., during the Confederate War. They had three children—Anna, Martha, and James. The last named was a station agent on the railroad at Burnsville, Miss. His mother died there, and his sisters are residing in that part of the country.

Henry Whitsitt, the youngest son, married Miss Ellen Gambill, and they had seven children—Katharine, Sarah, Nellie, Johanna, Ada, Robert, and William. Katharine married a

Mr. Sherrill, and they have four children; Robert married Miss Shook, and they have one child; William is a dentist.

Priscilla, the youngest child of James and Martha Anthony Whitsitt, married Mr. Walter Thomas, of North Alabama. They have a large family, but I have not learned the names of any of the children.

William Whitsitt's Family.—The second son of Rev. James Whitsitt, of Nashville, married Miss Slaughter, a daughter of Thomas Coleman Slaughter, Esq., of Corydon, Ind. He was descended from Francis Slaughter, of Culpeper County, Va.; and the family removed to Nelson County, Ky., shortly after the War of the Revolution. Miss Slaughter was on a visit to her aunt, Mrs. Robert C. Foster, of Nashville, when she met her husband. After their marriage, William Whitsitt disposed of his possessions in Davidson County and removed to Kentucky, where members of the family of his wife were established. He lived for a season at Bardstown and also at Brandenburg, Ky.

Ellen, the oldest daughter of William Whitsitt, married Mr. Spink, of Corydon, Ind. They had a family, but the names of none of the children are known to me.

Jane Whitsitt married Col. William Hugley, of Wilson County, Tenn. This name is sometimes spelled "H-e-w-g-l-e-y," but it is supposed to have been originally a French name and may have been written "H-u-g-e-l-e-t." The children of Colonel Hugley were: Ann Eliza, Breathitt, Henrietta, and William.

The next child was Thomas Coleman Slaughter Whitsitt, who married Miss Mary —, of Ozark, Mo. He was a physician, and practiced with success in Arkansas. He died at Jonesboro, Ark. This couple had several children, but only one of them arrived at adult age. His name was "William." He was educated at the University of Virginia, and later took a degree in medicine, but before he could establish himself in business he had passed away.

Another son of William Whitsitt was named "Washington Lafayette."

The youngest child of William Whitsitt was Augusta. She

married a Methodist minister named "Stewart," but I have no knowledge of her subsequent history.

Samuel Dawson Whitsitt's Family.—The third son of Rev. James Whitsitt, of Nashville, was Dr. Samuel Dawson Whitsitt. After graduating in the Medical Department of Transylvania University, at Lexington, Ky., he removed to Paris, Tenn., where he married Miss Jean Porter, whose father was a brother of the father of Gov. James D. Porter. From Paris he removed to Yalobusha County, Miss., and established himself in the neighborhood of Grenada.

The eldest child of this marriage was James, who was born about 1829. In the year 1847 he was killed in a great storm at Grenada. He was at school, and the house was blown down upon him and several others of the scholars. He was eighteen years of age and of great promise. Shortly after his decease the family returned to Nashville.

The second child was Sarah Margaret, who married Capt. John L. Porter, a relative of her mother's, from Woodford County, Ky. He was a captain of cavalry, and was killed in a gallant charge at the battle of Oak Hill, not far from Springfield, Mo., during the first year of the Confederate War. He left two children, Ethel and James L. Porter. Of these, the former married Mr. William Moore, and had three children, named, respectively, "Margaret," "Katharine," and "Francis." James L. Porter married Miss Fannie Blanton. They have five children, and are residing at present in Dallas, Texas. The names of the children are: "Pearl," "John Bell," "Allene," "Margaret," and "Francis."

The third child of Dr. Samuel D. Whitsitt was John Bell Whitsitt. He graduated at Franklin College, near Nashville, and afterwards studied law. He was engaged in the practice of his profession at Napoleon, Ark., and, when the Civil War broke out, in 1861, enlisted in a company of artillery, and was killed in battle at Pond Lake, Ark. He was never married. His death was much deplored, since he was the most brilliant and promising of the rising generation among the Whitsitts.

Samuel Porter Whitsitt, the third son and fourth child of Samuel Dawson Whitsitt and Jean Porter Whitsitt, was born on August 13, 1836. After the Civil War, upon his return

home and discharge from the Confederate Army, in the year 1865, August 10, he married Seluda Harriett Harvey, the second daughter and fifth child of John William Harvey and Mildred Bailey Harvey, both formerly of Virginia, Charlotte Courthouse being their address at the time they left Virginia.

Of the union between S. P. Whitsitt and Seluda H. Whitsitt there were ten children—six girls and four boys—all now living, except one boy:

Mildred Bailey Whitsitt—born, 1866, September 3.

Samuel Dawson Whitsitt—born, 1868, September 4.

Mary Green Whitsitt—born 1870, September 20.

Nettie Harvey Whitsitt—born, 1873, April 18.

Jean Porter Whitsitt—born, 1875, July 25.

John Harvey Whitsitt—born, 1877, October 25; died, 1887, September 26.

Annis Rains Whitsitt—born, 1880, May 27.

Thomas Elizabeth Whitsitt—born, 1882, June 10.

Foster Gray Whitsitt—born, 1884, September 6.

Robert Allen Whitsitt—born, 1888, August 6.

Mildred, the eldest child, was married to James Henry Webb on September 29, 1887, and to them two children have been born—James H. Webb, Jr., born on September 3, 1888, deceased, and William Francis, born on September 21, 1891.

Samuel Dawson Whitsitt married Nettie Rebecca Edwards on December 24, 1893; and of this union there is one child, deceased.

Mary Green Whitsitt married Philip E. Dunnavant on August 24, 1888; and to them were born Barbara Lucile Dunnavant on June 6, 1889, and John J. Dunnavant, deceased.

Annis Rains Whitsitt married Albert William Higley on August 18, 1902; and they have one boy, Albert William Higley, Jr., born on October 13, 1903.

Thomas Elizabeth Whitsitt married Eugene Davis Page on June 4, 1902; and they have one daughter, Mildred Elizabeth Page, born on July 21, 1903.

Jennie Whitsitt, the fifth child of Dr. Samuel and Jean Porter Whitsitt, married Mr. Turner G. Moore. They had three children, two daughters and one son. The daughters both died without issue. The son, Samuel A. Moore, married

Miss Lula Watson, and lives at Gadsden, Ala. They have two children, named, respectively, "Jennie" and "Lucy."

Henry Clay Whitsitt, the youngest child of Dr. Whitsitt, died without issue in the spring of 1868.

Reuben Ewing Whitsitt's Family.—The youngest son of Rev. James Whitsitt was born in the year 1813 and died on the 12th of February, 1853. His Christian name was unusual in the family, having been given in honor of Judge Reuben Ewing, of Russellville, Ky., who had married Ellen, a sister of Mr. Whitsitt's. The Ewings were also Scotch-Irish people. Robert and Charles Ewing, who were brothers, are said to have come from Ireland to Virginia and settled in the county of Prince Edward about the year 1740. Robert Ewing married Mary Baker, who is supposed to have been a daughter of Caleb Baker, a well-known Presbyterian elder of that region. He died in Bedford County, Va., in June, 1787, leaving issue as follows: Robert, Baker, Reuben, Chatham, Young, Urban, John, and Finis; Polly, Patsy, and Sidney Ann. The entire family are said to have removed to Kentucky and settled in Logan County. Finis, the youngest child, attained distinction as one of the founders of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Judge Reuben Ewing was a man of position and influence, and was often employed in the public service. He held a seat in the convention which formed the first Constitution of the State of Kentucky, in the year 1792.

In the year 1839 Reuben Ewing Whitsitt married Miss Dicey Ann McFarland, of Wilson County, who was a great-granddaughter of James Menees. John McFarland had married Nancy, the second daughter of James Menees, in the fort at Nashville during the year 1783, and had later established himself on a section of land not far from Rutland Church, in the southern portion of Wilson County. Dicey Ann McFarland was a daughter of James, the eldest son of the aforesaid John McFarland, who resided on Spencer's Creek, about seven miles west of Lebanon. The children of Reuben E. and D. A. Whitsitt were:

James Menees—born, August 16, 1840; died without issue in 1868.

William Heth—born, November 25, 1841.

John Berryman—born, May 27, 1844.

Margaret Blakey—born, June 8, 1847.

Reuben Ewing—born, 1849; died without issue in 1868.

William Heth Whitsitt married, on October 4, 1881, Miss Florence Wallace, daughter of Capt. Samuel Baker Wallace, of Woodford County, Ky., and his wife, Anne Mary (Taylor) Wallace. The genealogy of Samuel Baker Wallace and Anne Mary Taylor may be found in a volume by the present writer, entitled "Life and Times of Judge Caleb Wallace;" Louisville, John P. Morton Company, 1888. It is interesting to observe that while the Ewings, of Logan County, were derived from Mary Baker, the Wallaces, of Woodford, are derived from Esther Baker, daughter of Caleb Baker, the aforementioned Presbyterian elder, of Prince Edward County, Va. By consulting pages 65, 66 of the present volume of the American Historical Magazine it will be perceived that the Wallaces and Whitesides were both members of Rev. Samuel Black's Presbyterian Church at Mountain Plain, in Albemarle County, Va., during the year 1747. It is capable of proof that some members of this family of Wallaces settled in Charlotte County, Va., and there became allied with the Baker family. Subsequently they removed from Virginia and established themselves in the blue-grass region of Kentucky. The children of William Heth Whitsitt and Florence (Wallace) Whitsitt are:

William Baker Whitsitt—born, May 27, 1883.

Mary Taylor Whitsitt—born, July 1, 1886.

William B. Whitsitt is a mechanical draughtsman, and works in the shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Mount Clare, in Baltimore; Mary T. Whitsitt graduated at the Woman's College, Richmond, Va., on the 8th of June, 1904. Both are unmarried.

John Berryman Whitsitt returned from the Confederate War

she was married to Mr. John L. Wright, principal of one of the Nashville schools.

Their children are :

Florence Elizabeth Wright—born November 30, 1889, died August 21, 1890.

John L. Wright, Jr.—born November 29, 1892.

Bennie Corinne Wright—born May 4, 1895.

Charles Brower Wright—born October 26, 1903.

William H. Whitsitt, Jr., married Miss Martha Palmyra Ezell—born, January 27, 1877. Their children are :

William H. Whitsitt—born August 31, 1897.

Anna Lucile Whitsitt—born April 24, 1900.

Alma Rebecca Whitsitt—born October 23, 1902.

Reuben Ewing, John Bell, Charles L. and James McFarland Whitsitt are still unmarried.

Margaret Blakey Whitsitt has never married.

It was my purpose to set forth in this number of the American Historical Magazine the genealogy of the Meneeses, of Nashville, from whom was derived Jane (Menees) Whitsitt, the wife of Rev. James Whitsitt, but the materials are not at present accessible. I also desire to include the record of the Whitsitt, Blakey, Breathitt, and other families of Southern Kentucky. These tasks will render it necessary for me to request the indulgence of the reader for another issue.

THE CHICKASAW TREATY OF 1818.

BY JAMES D. PORTER.

This treaty, by the terms of which the Chickasaw Indians ceded that part of the States of Tennessee and Kentucky lying west of the Tennessee River to the United States, was negotiated in the year 1818 by Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and Gov. Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, commissioners on the part of the United States. It was ratified by the United States Senate in January, 1819. Years before this date, citizens of the State heard from hunters and trappers that there was a great salt mine on one of the tributaries of the Tennessee River, and efforts had been made to acquire the privilege from the Indian owners of working it. They had been led to believe that a salt mine was located on the territory of which they were proprietors; and when negotiations were inaugurated for its cession, the Indians demanded a reservation that should embrace it. Their wishes were met by the fourth article of the treaty in these words:

"The commissioners agree, on the further and particular application of the chiefs and for the benefit of the poor and warriors of said nation, that a tract of land containing four miles square, to include a salt lick, or springs, on or near the River Sandy—a branch of the Tennessee River—and within the boundaries of the land hereby ceded, be reserved and to be laid off in a square or oblong so as to include the best timber, at the option of their beloved chiefs, Levi Colbert and James Brown, or either of them, who are hereby made trustees for the nation to lease the said salt lick, or springs, on the following conditions—viz.: For the benefit of the reservation, as before recited; the trustees, or agents, are bound to lease said reservation to some citizen or citizens of the United States for a reasonable quantity of salt to be paid annually to said nation for the use thereof; and that from and after two years after the ratification of this treaty no salt made at the works to be erected on this reservation shall be sold within the limits of the same for a higher price than one dollar per bushel of fifty pounds weight, on failure of which the lease shall be forfeited and the reservation revert to the United States."

The treaty was negotiated at the treaty ground, east of Old Town.

The day following its ratification, and months before its ratification by the Senate, the two chiefs, Colbert and Brown, leased the reservation to Maj. William B. Lewis, of Nashville, for the benefit of himself and R. P. Currin, of Franklin, Tenn., for the term of 199 years for the consideration of 750 bushels of salt per annum. The contract provided that in case the salt water on this reservation and above-recited premises, upon a fair experiment being made, shall be found not to be of quality and quantity sufficient to justify the working thereof, then and in that case the aforesaid agreement to be void and of no effect.

The value of the reservation for the production of salt was greatly exaggerated. It was supposed to be equal to the Kanawha Salt District, of Virginia. The hunters proclaimed it far and wide that its lease to Major Lewis was made for the enrichment of the commissioners and that he was a mere tool used to blind the country and to deceive the unlettered Indian. It gave rise to an unfounded scandal involving the honor of General Jackson. The only color for it was the fact that Major Lewis was conveniently present and was a witness to the treaty. He had been Jackson's aid-de-camp at New Orleans, and was his closest friend. He secured the lease the day following its execution; and his associate, Mr. Currin, at once entered upon the work of developing the salt mine. General Jackson never suspected wrong from any of his friends; it was next to impossible to shake his confidence in them. He would rather have suffered injustice than to believe that in a pecuniary transaction they would connive at his injury.

Mr. Currin, at an expense of \$3,000, bored the great artesian well of Henry County, the first of its kind known to the writer. He introduced salt workers from the Kanawha District and fixtures for the conversion of salt. The salt mine did not

inaccessibility and location near the bottom of Big Sandy River, one of the affluents of the Tennessee River and subject to an annual overflow, destroys the value of this great artesian well.

This reservation was situated in what is now Henry County, and, upon the settlement of the county, was entered and granted and occupied according to the laws of the State. No cognizance was taken of any right acquired under the lease from the Chickasaws to Major Lewis; but in the year 1830 interest in the reservation was renewed, and the scandal of 1818 was revived, to the injury of General Jackson, now President of the United States. The old hero could well have prayed: "Save me from my friends." It was now that Gen. John Coffee, of Alabama, and Maj. John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Jackson, were appointed commissioners on the part of the United States to negotiate treaties with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians for the purpose of extinguishing their title to the territory occupied by them in Alabama and Mississippi and to prepare for their removal to the territory provided for them west of the Territory of Arkansas.

The commissioners met a delegation of chiefs and head men at Franklin, Tenn., at which General Jackson was present, and agreed upon a treaty. It was agreed that Lewis and Currin should have an estate in the reservation for the period of 199 years, which was equivalent to a title in fee simple. The lease would run to the year 2029. The lessees were to pay the Indians \$2,500 in cash and *four bushels of salt* per annum. Without waiting for the ratification of the treaty, Lewis and Currin had it recorded as an ordinary title paper; and, as stated by Hon. Cave Johnson, of the Clarksville District, on the floor of Congress, "possession of the reservation was demanded of citizens residing on it and suit threatened in case of refusal."

The scandal continued; color was again given to it. Major

for farming purposes. Discussion of the sale was transferred from the people and press to Washington. Mr. Ellsworth, a distinguished Representative in Congress from Connecticut, attacked it in a speech, in which he said :

"The transaction was suspicious, and needs explanation. What had the commissioners to do with the matter of Mr. Lewis? They were sent to buy land from the Indians, not to sell land to white men. They must have known that Mr. Lewis had no title before, and here for \$2,000 at a blow he acquired 10,000 acres of valuable land."

This is a forgotten incident ; but at the time interest in it was so widespread that Hon. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, then a Representative in Congress, offered this resolution :

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to this House a copy of the treaty negotiated with the Chickasaw tribe of Indians in the year 1830."

This was in January, 1832 ; and the treaty was then in the hands of President Jackson. Representative Isaacks, of Tennessee, opposed the adoption of the resolution, "because it was an invasion of the constitutional prerogatives of the Executive and his advisers." Mr. Everett consented to the postponement of the resolution for a day. On resuming its consideration, he delivered himself with force and power, and, referring to the commissioners and their action, said :

"It is essentially corrupt, and the parties concerned in it have laid themselves under a responsibility which no Act of the Senate can remove."

Hon. John Bell, of Tennessee ; Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky ; Mr. Mitchell, of South Carolina ; Mr. Huntington, of Connecticut ; James K. Polk, of Tennessee ; Mr. Clay, of Alabama ; George Evans, of Maine ; Cave Johnson and William Fitzgerald, of Tennessee ; Mr. Pendleton, of New York ; Mr. Clayton, of Georgia ; and others, participated in the discussion. During a debate continuing for several days Mr. Everett disavowed a purpose of making any imputation on General Jackson. The resolution was adopted and referred. Mr. Bell made remarks in defense of Mr. Lewis ; Mr. Johnson, of Mr.

Curriu; Mr. Clay, of Alabama, of General Coffee; but no one of the distinguished Representatives uttered a word in behalf of his cocommissioner, Manager Eaton.

General Jackson never submitted the treaty for ratification or rejection.

In due time Congress passed an Act admitting the reservation to entry and grant, according to the laws of Tennessee, with a provision in favor of all "who were *seated* down and in the actual possession of any part of same prior to 1830." No other 10,000-acre tract in Tennessee has such a history, no other was the subject of such heated debate, and no other single community was defended by so many able men who in a few years became illustrious.

General Jackson was not privy to the lease of 1818, and Mr. Everett's disavowal makes it clear that he was not responsible for the attempted purchase of 1830, made by indiscreet friends. The subject was finally referred to the House Committee on Public Lands, and through its chairman, Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, a report was made reciting the facts herein named. The substantial one was that Messrs. Lewis and Currin had acquired no title to the reservation and that it was subject to entry and grant upon the same terms and conditions as other territory acquired under the treaty of 1818. Mr. Wickliffe moved to communicate the report and accompanying documents to the Senate. Under the leadership of John Bell, the motion was denied. Mr. Wickliffe's purpose was to defeat the ratification of the treaty by furnishing Senators with the facts; but it died in the President's office, and that was the extinguishment of the title of Messrs. Lewis and Currin.

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CEREMONIAL FLINT IMPLEMENTS. (One-third size.) Hicks and Tennessee Historical Society Collections.

TENNESSEE ARCHÆOLOGY AT ST. LOUIS.

BY R. A. HALLEY.

At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, now in progress at St. Louis, Mo., there is an archæological exhibit from Tennessee that is unequaled by any similar exhibit within the grounds. It may be added that, with the exception of the wonderful flint implements belonging to the Missouri Historical Society, the finest specimens of which came from Tennessee originally, there are no other such flints in existence as those to be found in the Tennessee collection.

The credit of arranging for this exhibit of the prehistoric Tennessee is due to a few workers of the Tennessee Historical Society, to the society, and in particular to Gen. G. P. Thruston, who was an earnest advocate and worker from the inception of the proposal to have Tennessee fitly represented in the department to which these relics belong. General Thruston has long been an active worker along these lines of investigation. By personal investigation and digging into the ancient graves of the primal Tennesseans and by a study of every specimen which came to his hands he has acquired the deserved reputation of being the authority to which other Tennesseans turn when in doubt on any of the matters connected with the strange and interesting Stone Grave race of Tennessee and on any other topic connected with the prehistoric period of the State's existence.

The Tennessee Historical Society has a large and fine collection of these relics; other collections are in possession of General Thruston and others; a large and extremely valuable collection, which belonged to E. H. Hicks; and from these three collections the great exhibit at St. Louis was formed. The Tennessee Historical Society appropriated an amount sufficient to induce the services of that enthusiastic and well-informed antiquarian, Robert T. Quarles, and agreed to make an exhibit of its treasures on condition that Mr. Quarles and General Thruston would assume charge of the

arrangement of the specimens and that they would be on hand at the end of the Exposition period and would see to their return. The society felt that under this arrangement the specimens would be both properly displayed and safely returned.

These gentlemen went to work, and soon gathered the select specimens of the three collections named, as well as a few other pieces; and they are at the Exposition for the entertainment of all who are in any way interested in the subject. Probably never in the history of the world has such a collection been gathered for any purpose. Of course the immense collections of the Smithsonian Institution contain many more; but taking the average quality and fineness of this Tennessee collection, it stands without an equal, and without even a rival. It was made up with the purpose of showing only the very finest in existence, and well was that purpose carried out. To particularize would require more pages than can be devoted to the subject, but a glance may be given the two collections into which the exhibit naturally divides itself—the flints and the pottery.

In the selections made for the flint exhibit there are rough and polished implements, discs, copper, arrows, shell and horn implements, every one of which is a choice specimen of its kind, and, in some cases, the finest of its kind as well. Particularly is this the case with some—indeed, with all—of the specimens of ceremonial flints resembling scepters, and undoubtedly used for some such purpose. On a carved shell or gorget is the representation of an evident ruler of the olden time, holding in his hand, as it were, a scepter of the identical pattern of the finest piece in this collection belonging to General Thruston. The eight or ten specimens shown are all exceptional—notably the one in the form of a lobster claw, which came from the Hicks collection; but there are others almost as fine and fully as interesting. One belonging to the Tennessee Historical Society is in the shape of a sickle, or reaping hook, which appears in modified form in several other pieces; others are in the shape of large spearheads; but the evidently more appreciated form was that of the scepter, with its beautiful and artistic symmetry. These vary in length from twelve to twenty inches.

In large flints the collection is especially rich—great spear-heads, spades, hoes, axes, battle-axes, and formidable weapons of a fineness and finish rarely seen in even smaller specimens; chisels, with edges almost keen enough to use for shaving; knives and scrapers and fleshers. Several curious specimens have a rounded handle and a widened extremity that is in the closest resemblance to the modern round-pointed shovel. A dozen discoidal stones present perhaps the finest array of these curious creations that has ever been assembled, each being a magnificent one in form, color, and finish. The banner stones are few, but splendid, and show the best work of the ancient artist. What are called "spindle wheels" are present in number, a dozen or more; and near them in the cases are horn handles that once served to shield the hand grasping the knives of flint or the tools which wrought in leather or wood. There are also other implements of horn, arrowheads of perfect texture and make, frail rings cut from the brittle stone, and one fine knife chipped from a perfectly black piece of flint. The very large round disc from the Hicks collection, a conch shell found in a child's grave, a breast-plate, and other pieces make up the most interesting assortment that could have been brought together from this State.

The pottery display is one of varied interest, and contains many pieces that are absolutely unique. Images in the form of human beings, animals, fishes, and fowls, plainly finished or painted in red and white by the ancient artist, with a nice regard for effectiveness, take the first place. In all the creations of pottery the images of people, animals, or fishes predominate. In the bowls the two handles on either side are frequently contrived with cunning view to the effect. One very large bowl has on one side the neck and head of a dragon of fine workmanship; on the other side, a flattened sort of handle that might be taken figuratively for the tail of the dragon. A smaller bowl has the neck and head of a woman for one handle, and the lower limbs and feet project on the other side. Bowls have the head of a fish on one side and the tail fins on the other. In the case of the fish bowl, the bowl part is shaped like the body of the fish, making the resemblance so strong as to enable the beholder to know the

kind of fish represented. Around some of the small bowls a frog will sprawl, his head projecting enough above the edge of the bowl to form a handle. The heads of bears, the forms of turtles, the heads of ducks (with the flattened bills), and in one case the long neck and head of a goose, make a convenient handle by which the ancient inhabitant held the vessel. Often in a grave is found a shell made of clay, and rarely a double shell joined as in nature. Bowls or dishes of varying sizes are ornamented with a rough imitation of beadwork around the outer edge, and sometimes more elaborately. Curiously, these beads around the edges are almost invariably arranged in groups of three or seven. So often is this the case that the thought suggests itself that with these old peoples, too, there was some sort of belief in magic or lucky numbers. Lamps of the old Roman pattern, with long and delicate projections for the wick, are also represented in the collection by one choice piece.

One of the best and most suggestive pieces in the collection is the terra-cotta image of a child strapped to a board with leather thongs, cleverly imitated in the clay. This piece was found near Nashville by George T. Halley, and was afterwards acquired by General Thruston, and throws a flood of light on at least one of their customs. Interesting fragments of this strange pottery are shown, containing the heads of animals and of people. From the general resemblance of these faces we may be fully justified in believing that they truly represent the faces and features of the people among whom they were made. All nations copy the features of their own people in their art and copy the features of other nations with but indifferent success. These heads show the manner of the hair dressing then in vogue and give some graphic pictures of customs among the first Tennesseans.

The fact is remarked upon by every visitor to St. Louis who

manufacture reached the point of excellence attained by these old-time Tennesseans. Nor has there been found in any other section such a wealth of form and finish in the prehistoric pottery as can be seen in this Tennessee collection. It well may lead us to inquire into something of the probable history of these people—where and how they lived and when and how they passed away.

It is little enough we know or can know about those prehistoric Tennesseans, and the sum total of our information is due more than to any other—perhaps it might well and truly be said, as much as to all others—to the study and investigation made by General Thruston himself. The result of his collection and study of these relics has been a considerable enlargement of previous information and the addition of much unknown or unappreciated before. Many of the pieces which he has added to his early collection have each a chapter of the primitive life suggested in themselves, suggested by the unmistakable evidences inherent in the article. Due also to General Thruston was the stimulation of interest among a number of younger collectors, who, while unable to give the time and money that were given by the General, gave much thought to it and made creditable collections of relics that have in them some remarkable specimens. Such was the General's enthusiasm, however, when he saw a new specimen, that, sooner or later, if that specimen were particularly a fine one, it found its way into his own collection. The finder of a novel and interesting piece of pottery or flint soon found out where to go if he wished to dispose of it, and a number of men living on farms near these primitive burying places made a pretty regular habit of unearthing something desirable from the graves. They grew expert in the work, and sometimes brought to Nashville for sale collections numbering forty or fifty pieces. But most of these were comparatively common; the finer pieces were always in the minority.

This interest which he stimulated by his example was further stimulated by the publication of General Thruston's work on "The Antiquities of Tennessee," which surprised even the author by rapidly exhausting the first edition and demanding a second. This volume was not originally intended by

the author. It grew out of a request from the Tennessee Historical Society that he prepare a pamphlet on the subject of these Stone Graves and the strange people, based on what he had learned by his study of them. The first idea was to illustrate some of the finer types of the pottery found in the Nashville cemeteries; but when he attempted to enlarge his collection as it then existed so that it might portray as many types as possible, the magnitude of the undertaking grew upon him, and the material accumulated so rapidly that the proposed pamphlet grew into formidable proportions and then assumed shape in a magnificently illustrated octavo volume of nearly 400 pages. In this is found the most adequate study yet made systematically of the prehistoric graves of Tennessee.

The simple monuments and the implements this race left behind them show us that they were a peaceful people, not warlike, with such weapons only as could aid them in capturing game for their daily needs. One of the plainest of the few lessons to be learned is that they had a religion which was evidently a great part of their life and which was full of ceremonials if we may judge from the fact that the finest flints they left us are those used for those ceremonies—long ceremonial flints, banner stones, scepters of strange design, maces, totems. That they were a strongly religious people is also shown by the preponderance among all their works in clay of images undoubtedly intended for worship. These idols and images took the form of vessels of clay, well burned or sun-dried, and were of a variety of shapes almost innumerable. This pottery in Tennessee attained a rank above any other pottery found north of Mexico, and occasionally a piece gives evidence of some Indian master of his art. Quaintness and grace of outline characterize the images in particular, though the majority of them are rude.

That these images were idols seems to be conclusively proven by the discovery of a curious specimen plowed up in the Sequatchie Valley, in Tennessee. This specimen is a small nude human figure in kneeling position, modeled rudely in clay, and placed in a large tropical shell, from which the interior whorls were removed, from which the front was taken away, and the whole evidently fashioned into a sort of shrine or

sanctuary. The point of the shell had been taken off and the surface smoothed so as to form a pedestal on which it might rest in upright position. The image was inside the shell when they were found many years ago. The worship of idols, or images, by the ancient people of Tennessee is clearly evidenced by this find. Certainly the images were regarded with veneration, and thus we may understand why they were placed in the graves of the dead; why they took the form of human beings, birds, or beasts; and why these images so largely outnumbered all other forms of pottery found.

We may infer that they were idols also—if further inference were needed—by analogy, since both Mexicans and Central Americans are known to have worshiped similar objects just as rude as these. Not only did these vessels appear as idols, but they were made to serve the purpose of holding food and water for the dead, thus commingling with their idol worship an undoubted belief in the future state. It has been denied that the Southern Indians of later times were idolaters, most of them worshipping the sun, the moon, and other material divinities; but there was an almost universal belief among them in the future state, as typified by the "happy hunting grounds" in the other world. They knew neither heaven nor hell in their creed, which was, at best, a very indefinite one. The Natchez unquestionably worshiped idols, since we have it set down by Father Petit that they had "a temple filled with idols." He also says that "their idols are images of men and women, made of stone and baked clay, heads and tails of extraordinary serpents, stuffed owls, pieces of crystal, and the jawbones of great fishes." This statement is not at variance with the strange mythology and religious beliefs of the Indians.

That the home arts were fairly well advanced is shown by many mechanical and agricultural implements in stone and bone—needles, hide scrapers, vessels for holding food, beads and engraved jewelry of shells, spoons made of shells, lamps of the old Roman pattern. Idols, or images, of clay and stone suggest the worship of visible gods; and an infinite variety of pipes would seem to speak of long hours spent in contem-

plative repose, soothed, as is the white man of to-day, by the pleasant fumes of his tobacco.

It was a strange people with a strange history, no doubt, and is interesting to the student of archæological remains as furnishing useful and fascinating material for historic—or, rather, for antiquarian—research. The attention of the student cannot fail to be attracted to aught that relates to the history of the human race—its progress, its destiny, its struggles from barbarism toward civilization; but it is not always those nations that have farthest progressed that are most interesting or attractive. The very confusion in which the ancient history of Tennessee has been involved, our almost absolute ignorance of any of the conditions of life or of the state of society existing among the primitive Tennesseans, has until recently been the incentive to its study by such trained minds as that of General Thruston and by others. To-day the results of the researches made are sufficiently substantial to induce further investigation by the student.

History cannot be reconstructed with exactness from the ruins of buried villages and temples or from the débris of ancient mounds, but the life of the people may be made plainer by the systematic exploration of those remains. By comparing the relics and remains of different sections the life of the ancient peoples can almost be reproduced in detail, and the most interesting of stories can be gleaned from bits of broken pottery, fragmentary ornaments of shells, and the trinkets of bone or stone that have long lain in the graves of the dead.

To this knowledge of the past no State has contributed more largely than Tennessee, whose fertile archæological field is not equaled by any other State, and is approached by the State of Ohio alone in its wealth of prehistoric treasures. More images and engraved gorgets have been discovered in Tennessee than in all the other Southern States combined. In flints the State is likewise very rich, as was shown in 1895 by the discovery of a remarkable collection of forty-seven flints in a single deposit in an ancient cemetery in Humphreys County. In this collection all the rare forms of ceremonial flints and totems were represented, many being of the long,

narrow, delicate types. One specimen was the longest flint of its class in the world, so far as is known, measuring twenty-seven and one-half inches in length. Other specimens were twenty-two, twenty, nineteen, and eighteen inches long. While Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida are yielding treasures of prehistoric pottery, the remains found in Tennessee are more varied and more useful and suggestive for study than any east of the Pueblos of New Mexico.

The age of these relics can scarcely be computed with exactness; but it was three centuries or more ago when Tennessee teemed with an energetic and industrious race that tilled its valleys, fished in its waters, hunted in its forests, and lived their quiet and contented lives; and when they had lived these lives, they were laid to rest in the curious and remarkable resting places, the prehistoric cemeteries made up of what are known as the Stone Graves of Tennessee.

These box-shaped graves were often constructed with such care that till now they have defied the surrounding earth, and, when opened, are found devoid of contents, save the skeletons and strange vessels. There are no more interesting memorials than these cemeteries, many of which contain thousands of the stone graves—all rudely built, perhaps, but showing a skill in handling unhewn stone that has never been surpassed. These rude coffins were built of slabs of stone, covered with other slabs; and no less than 25,000 of them have been opened by relic hunters, archaeologists, and curiosity seekers. Once a cemetery is discovered, the location of the graves is easy. They are close to the surface, and by means of a steel probe the grave can be located with as much exactness as if it were above the ground. When the probe strikes a stone, it is thrust into the ground at other points until the exact shape, position, and location of the grave is clear. This ease in locating graves of the prehistoric people is nowhere else so noticeable as in Tennessee; nor can archaeological investigation be carried on under such favorable conditions anywhere else in the United States. It presents almost the certainty of a modern graveyard marked with headstones. In the grave will be found the skeleton, often in surprisingly good condition of preservation, and sometimes the skeletons of

two—man and woman; more frequently the skeletons are those of woman and child. There are also in many of the graves the vessels placed beside the dead—vessels once filled with food and water to supply them until they reached the spirit land. These vessels are of an almost infinite variety of shapes, and, when thus sealed up, have been kept as perfectly as the fragile vessels in the elaborate tombs of Cuma and Pompeii. Besides the vessels, there are other treasures found—jewelry, toys, images, and sometimes the most interesting bowls, dishes, and water bottles ever recovered from ancient graves. In one child's grave near Nashville was found the unique little figure in clay of a child strapped to its board, before referred to. This interesting piece is about four by nine inches; the head, flattened; the thongs that fasten the child to the board, very plainly made to represent leather strips. This custom of fastening infants to boards was common among the Indians of North America, and the finding of this image discovered another link in the chain of evidence that the modern Indians were the descendants of the prehistoric race of mound builders or of kindred tribes. Sets of toy plates, dainty little vessels, and toys were found in other graves. They tell strikingly of child life in Tennessee five or six hundred years ago.

One of the largest and richest of the aboriginal cemeteries ever found is four or five miles from Nashville, south of the city and lying along the sides of Brown's Creek, above the danger of overflow. It is in one of the most beautiful, fertile, and well-watered sections of the State. Here more than 4,000 graves have been opened, yielding several hundred pieces of well-burned pottery, many unique in form and finely finished. In form this pottery is patterned after nearly every familiar object—animals, birds, fish, the human figure, shells, and imaginary figures. Many of the human figures are those of hunchbacked men and women, the faces beyond doubt illustrating types of the race.

The Stone Graves in Middle Tennessee are usually from one foot to three feet below the surface, but rarely more than two feet, except when found in tiers. Sometimes a hundred or more of them are found in a single burial mound, lying in tiers

four or five graves deep; but usually they are found in single layers, buried with some regularity, as if the dead had been placed in a potter's field. The stone boxes are generally from four to six feet in length, about two feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. When with the aid of the probe the stone lid of a cist is discovered, the explorer calls upon his helper or diggers to uncover it. The overlying earth is excavated, the covering stones are carefully removed; and he can then proceed to work cautiously with a small trowel, with every prospect of a successful find. Usually it will be found that the earth has filtered into the cist and filled it, but now and then a grave is discovered so carefully constructed that the remains within it lie uncovered and in open view. The fortunate explorer can then observe all the details of the burial, and perhaps may be rewarded by finding a vessel or two of pottery, a gorget of shell, or a necklace or earrings in their original position, without the necessity of using his trowel in searching for them among the *débris* or compact earth that fills other graves.

It is sealed up in these cists that are found the relics of the ancient life. Deposited in these graves were the objects that had been most appreciated by the dead during life—their humble tributes of affection, the playthings of the children, their personal ornaments, their implements and utensils—and the vessels containing the provisions for their lonely journey to the “happy hunting grounds.” It is here that we find what is known of the status of the race in the scale of civilization. To one unfamiliar with this subject it is a revelation to see the remarkable collection of antiques and curios gathered from these old graves, even when the collection is a miscellaneous one; but when he sees the selected specimens shown at St. Louis, the wonder is the more. In an ordinary collection many things are to be seen. In such a large collection as that of General Thruston are to be seen enough specimens to give a fair view of the whole home life of the people. Sets of pottery ware ornamented with heads and grotesque figures—common characteristics of the wares of Peru and Central America—are found; water vessels, hanging bowls, drinking cups of clay and shell, well-shaped images of terra cotta, shell

gorgets or breast ornaments engraved with remarkable skill in curious and very exact designs, showing the particular badges or totems of the clan they represent; earrings and pendants of stone, of terra cotta, and of well-preserved wood, skillfully plated with thin layers of native copper; flint and bone implements and the knives and needles of the ancient artisans, discovered beside the remains of the dead, preserved to give us an idea of the people long passed away. The collection belonging to General Thruston has also numbers of pipes, of clay and stone; beautiful discs, symmetrical, uniform, and finely polished; delicate objects of polished stone and chipped flint, fifteen or twenty inches long; and a wealth of various forms of all the flint and clay implements that have been found in Tennessee and adjacent States.

General Thruston's private collection contains the choicest of the treasures found in the cemetery near Nashville and embraces many which are unique. Many of the images and vessels have been colored with considerable artistic skill. There are cooking vessels, drinking cups, and sets of wares so numerous as would suggest a well-stocked aboriginal cuisine. They undoubtedly belonged to the ancient aristocracy of the Cumberland Valley. There are all the tools and implements for shaping pottery, besides miscellaneous tools, made of clay, stone, and bone. From one grave came five implements of varying sizes, which were possibly trowels used by a plasterer, as they bear a resemblance to the modern trowel; in another grave were found eight finely-ground chisels of chipped flint, probably the lifetime equipment of some old artisan in wood; in still another grave were found five peculiar implements, probably constituting a set of little spatulæ, or paddles, which might have been used to mix medicine in some aboriginal medicine shop.

There are also in the same collection some other objects obtained from the same cemetery—an engraved disc of stone of some significance; small, symmetrical wheels of terra cotta and stone that look like little pulleys, skillfully plated with

must have been imported from far-distant sections of the country—the marine shells, from the Atlantic or Gulf Coasts; the native copper, from the Lake Superior region; the red pipe stone, from Western Minnesota; the mica, from North Carolina or Virginia. A number of pieces of obsidian, or volcanic, glass from Mexico, on the Rocky Mountain section of the West, have also been discovered, indicating that in prehistoric times the Stone Grave people must have had communication or trading relations with these distant countries. The material for the beautiful implements of steatite, hematite, porphyry, jasper, and cannel coal must have come from other distant sections. A red pipe found was of the brilliant red catlinite that has been found nowhere but in Western Minnesota.

Throughout the surrounding country there are numerous other smaller cemeteries, in whose graves are found vessels, ornaments, and implements, showing that the ancient dwellers had lived as comfortably probably as those now dwelling along Brown's Creek, and having not only the conveniences of their time, but many of the luxuries. The truth of the belief that it was a peaceful race is further emphasized by the fact that, notwithstanding the large population that occupied the central city and the adjacent country, no ancient defensive or military works or earthworks of magnitude have been found in the immediate vicinity of Nashville. One large artificial mound half a mile northeast of the large cemetery, about twelve feet high, is found; but it does not appear to have been a place of burial or to have been connected with any system of earthworks. It was probably intended for some public or religious purpose; it may have been intended for observation purposes, or it may have been the residence site of some old chieftain.

Some distance from these settlements, however, forts did exist; and a string of fortified points probably protected the thickly settled district, and thus enabled its people to live in peace and security for the time. There were two forts in Sumner County, north; in Wilson County, thirty miles east, was one; and there were three or four in Williamson County, the adjoining county on the south, distributed along the waters of

Harpeth River. Down the Cumberland River and on the northwest, as General Thruston points out, they needed no defense works, because there dwelt their kindred of the same race.

Beyond the bounds of this central district there were other settlements of this strange Stone Grave race—in the valleys of East Tennessee, in Northern Georgia, in the lower valley of the Cumberland, in Southern Kentucky, in Southern Illinois, and perhaps in other sections; but the most populous center appears, without doubt, to have been in the vicinity of Nashville.

Who were the Stone Grave race? Who were the mound builders? The answer is not easy. They were essentially primitive and Indian in their character, yet the remains of these "fort builders" of the Cumberland Valley indicate that they belonged to a more advanced type of the North American Indians than the wandering tribes of the early historic days. They should properly be classed with the sedentary or village Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. Their development was favored by the temperate climate; by the healthful, fertile, well-watered valleys; and by the less rigid struggle for the necessities of life. No native American north of Mexico in the prehistoric period came nearer the confines of semicivilization.

What became of them? Their quiet, peaceful life was undoubtedly the immediate cause of their undoing. A nation or a people that grows unused to war becomes an easy prey. These magnates of the Stone Grave race attended to their families and to their religious ceremonials. Industrious and progressive, they were working their way along toward a higher state. It was then, at an unknown date, that the warlike people came down upon them—maybe the ancestors of the fierce and vindictive Iroquois of the North, the Goths and Vandals of the Western World. They swept down upon the simple homes of these humble villagers and their kindred and either destroyed or absorbed them, leaving only the remains of their forts and mounds and cemeteries to tell of their former existence and primitive, peaceful life.

The career of the North American Indians is shadowed with painful reflections and illustrates the infinite pathos of human

life. Living on this great, fertile continent for thousands of years, yet in all the centuries of toil and hardship they made slow progress toward civilization. Its history was a succession of advances and relapses, their systems of life and government seemingly tending to decay. Even the ancient semicivilization of Mexico and Central America was rude and primitive when compared with that of the ancient races of Europe and Asia.

The exact relation of the Stone Grave race of Tennessee and that section generally to the historic red Indian is difficult to ascertain. When the Europeans were settling the Atlantic Coast, the Indians of the interior were involved in constant and exterminating warfare, and it seemed to be a time of tribal reconstruction. These ancient settlements of the Stone Grave race were probably full of life when Columbus came to America. A traveler to the interior would probably have been able then to learn the story of the mounds and graves from their own builders. But three centuries passed after America was discovered before the white man came to Tennessee. About 1540, it is true, De Soto and his army passed near the southern border of Tennessee, alarming the quiet natives, but probably never touched the present territory of the State. One hundred and thirty-two years passed away before any European, so far as known, stepped foot within Tennessee. The first explorer, Marquette, in 1673, floated down the Mississippi River in his shallow bark, and La Salle came later; but they saw only the forests and swamps along the river. Nearly another century then passed before the sturdy pioneers from Virginia and North Carolina came over the mountains to make their home in the valley of the Watauga or Daniel Boone started on his "Wilderness Trail."

Thus isolated for centuries, Tennessee was as unknown to the outside world as was Central Africa. France, Spain, and England claimed the territory; but neither took possession of it. The Indian claimants were fighting over it. While Vincennes, in Indiana; Kaskaskia, in Illinois; and New Orleans were being founded; while Texas and Missouri were colonized; while Santa Fé, in New Mexico, more than 1,000 miles to the west, had become an old Spanish town, still Tennessee

was without name or description on the maps, save when designated as "the unexplored land of the ancient Shawnees." These things show how little history can tell us of the ancient Tennesseans of the Stone Grave race, even while for four hundred years Spanish, French, and English travelers were writing and printing stories of their travels among the tribes of the South Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, neighbors and allies of the Tennessee tribes. These printed chronicles tell of peoples presumably akin to the ancient Tennesseans in race and manner of life; of populous, fortified towns surrounded by cornfields. The common ancestry of all the Indian tribes is to be presumed from these records made, a common inheritance of savagery and barbarism, though some of the writers state that those tribes in the South and Southwest lived in larger towns and seemed more advanced in the primitive arts than the tribes of the North.

The darkness of thousands of years cannot be dispelled by delving in the ashes of burned villages and cemeteries, yet from these we find the greater part of all that we can rescue from the long night of oblivion resting over the earlier centuries of aboriginal life. To no other continent can the ancestry of the native races of America be traced. Not only are their years shrouded in darkness, but the widely scattered remains, the large number of languages and dialects spoken by them, the varying stages of development among the tribes, make the systematic study of the questions involved one of the greatest difficulty.

Prof. Cyrus Thomas, of the Bureau of Ethnology, insists that recent investigations establish the fact that the Stone Grave builders of Tennessee were the ancestors of the Shawnees; and the claim seems plausible, though not well substantiated. The history of the Shawnees is a pathetic one. These "Gypsies of the Forest," as they have been called, perplex the



BOWLS AND VESSELS FROM GRAVES. (One-fourth size.) Thruston Collection.

from home, and for sixty years before the whites came Tennessee was an uninhabited wilderness.

Dr. D. G. Brinton claims that the Chatta-Muskogee tribes were probably the original mound-building stock, embracing the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Natchez.

Research may yet develop the truth, and further discoveries may add to our knowledge of the curious people. It is an entertaining field of inquiry at least. It is matter for congratulation that there has been sent to St. Louis an exhibit that is so clearly and so closely related to the early history of the country—an exhibit that, it is to be hoped, may stimulate further research and investigation.

INTERESTING LETTER OF HON. JOHN BELL, OF TENNESSEE, TO THE HON. JAMES R. DOOLITTLE, OF WISCONSIN.

[Contributed by Duane Mowry, of the Milwaukee (Wis.) Bar.]

A letter, like the one which follows, will not fail to enlist considerable interest among the readers of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. This is so because the author of it occupied a close and prominent relation to the subject discussed, a subject of burning interest to every inhabitant of Tennessee, and also for the reason that the gentleman was in the public confidence of a large constituency, not only in his own state, but also in the country at large. It is not necessary here or now to discuss these two men, or the views which they may have entertained at the time which called forth the correspondence. It is easy to believe that both of them were sincere, patriotic, and high-minded. It is even doubtful if either of them was mistaken in the views which they entertained upon the subject under discussion by Mr. Bell in this letter. But we pass that.

The original letter from which this copy is made is written in a running hand, and while every character is clearly discernible, the writing itself is extremely difficult to decipher. This is owing to Mr. Bell's peculiar penmanship. Many letters are run closely together. Omitting to dot the i's or cross the t's is also quite noticeable. And some words, particularly those italicized, are submitted as not surely the words used by the author. Nevertheless, enough of the letter is copied correctly to make it interesting reading to the student of history.

The letter covers a little more than three full pages of a purple colored, letter-note size writing paper. The ink is but slight-

Nashville, October 18, 1859.

My dear sir: Your letter of the 20th Aug. was rec'd in due course of mail, and every week (I cannot say every day) I have laid off to answer it, but such have been my engagements—principally, of a private, business nature, that I have found no time that I could devote to the important subject of your letter—nor have I now the leisure to say a tenth part of what I would desire to say, & I must postpone a full communication of my views to some other day, or week, or, perhaps, month.

You know from me already that I concurred in your views generally, as proposed in your speech upon the subject of the importance of providing some more eligible & practicable a retreat for the free colored inhabitants of the U. S.—the South being quite as much, indeed, far more interested than the North, in the accomplishment of this object. I have no sympathy with the schemes of those, who would *be part of* any further *policy* of Mexico or of Central America with the states of the Union—or *the army*, I am most decidedly opposed to any such policy, as unavoidably fatal to the true success of our system, as many of my parallell speeches will show.

You suggest that upon this platform, to wit; the acquisition of some territory South, by the U. S., which may be made the asylum or exclusive possession of the emancipated or free Africans in our midst, and of those who may hereafter be emancipated, can be made the *way* of harmony between the opposition elements North & South—and you ask me what objection could be made to such a policy by the *conservative* parties of the South? I answer none, or I think (none) whatever. But do you mean that the *conservative* opposition North, would or could be got to drop all other opinions, or party ties—I mean sectional opinions, or such as have been so regarded as—& agree to accept this one—a country set apart for the African race on this continent—as the only condition of con-

than the North. But I fear, my dear Sir, that you cannot *carry* your Northern friends, flushed as they are with the hope of victory, with their personal platform. I pray that I may be mistaken; but you will let me know further what you mean or think upon this point.

I will say before I conclude, that in my opinion, from what I have seen & heard of your patriotic & statesmanlike views, from your own lips, that if you and I were duly empowered upon the subject, we could adjust all the grounds of difference & discord between the *conservative* opposition North & South, in twenty four hours.

I shall be most happy to hear from you further at an early day upon the subject of our correspondence, when I promise more promptness in my reply.

With great respect & esteem,

Yours &c.,

JNO. BELL.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE.

JACKSON'S ORATION AT THE TOMB OF MARY
WASHINGTON.

[From the *Nashville American*.]

In a book called "Reports of Curious Law Cases," to which our attention has been called by Hon. John Ruhm, of the local bar, there is an account of a very interesting case decided only a few years ago by the Supreme Court of Virginia. The point at issue was whether a firm of real estate agents had authority to sell the grave and monument over it of Mary Washington, mother of George Washington.

On the date of the inauguration of Benjamin Harrison, March 4, 1888, there was circulated in the crowd in Washington this handbill:

"Gen. George Washington.—The Tomb and Unfinished Monument of Mary, His Sainted Mother.—Tuesday, the 5th instant, at 4 o'clock p.m., at the capitol of the United States of America, under authority vested in us by the 'real' owners of the property, we will offer for sale, at public outcry, about twelve acres of land, situate within corporation of Fredericksburg, embracing the grave of Mary, the mother of Gen. George Washington, and also the material of her unfinished monument; at the same time and place we will offer to the highest bidder the house in which she lived and died, and within eight squares of the tomb.

"COLBERT & KIRTLEY,
"Real Estate Agents,
"Fredericksburg, Va."

The advertisement also appeared in the *Washington Post*. Not much attention was paid to it in Washington, but it aroused great indignation at Fredericksburg. The alleged real owner of the property promptly disavowed any claim to it, and stated that he could not dispose of that to which he had no title, but the real estate agents asserted they had authority from him to sell the property, and the case was taken into court and finally reached the Supreme Court.

The Judge, in delivering his opinion, in which he, with great

vigor, denounced the agents for their attempt to make capital and pecuniary profit out of sacred property, quotes the following portion of the speech, which he says was made by Andrew Jackson, then President of the United States, at the laying of the corner stone of the monument :

"It is to me a source of high gratification that I can speak of him from personal knowledge and observation. I witnessed the public conduct and private virtues of Washington, and I saw and participated in the confidence which he inspired when probably the stability of our institutions depended upon his personal influence. In the grave before us lie the remains of his mother. Long has it been unmarked by any monumental tablet, but not unhonored. You have undertaken the pious duty of erecting a column to her memory, and of inscribing upon it the simple but affecting words. 'Mary, the Mother of Washington.' No eulogy could be higher; and it appeals to the heart of every American. Fellow citizens, at your request and in your name, I now deposit this plate in the spot destined for it, and when the American pilgrim shall, in after ages, come up to this high and lofty place and lay his hand upon this sacred column, may he recall the virtues of her who sleeps beneath, and depart with his affections purified and his piety strengthened, while he invokes blessings upon the memory of the mother of Washington."

We believe this speech of Gen. Jackson is not included in any of the lives which have been written of him, and is another indication of the deep feeling and lofty motives which marked his career.

The book to which we allude is well termed "Curious Cases," for it contains many of interest. But it is indeed surprising that at this late day anyone should have the hardihood to attempt to dispose of property which for so long a time has been regarded as set aside as a hallowed spot.

EDITORIAL.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

The management desires to announce to patrons and public that the publication of this magazine will be brought to a close with the forthcoming October number.

The magazine has published a great deal of the most important unpublished manuscripts of the Tennessee Historical Society, the Robertson correspondence of the Peabody College for Teachers, the Polk and other valuable genealogies of our most distinguished men of the past, and has preserved in permanent form much other historic matter of the highest value that might otherwise have been lost forever. To our patrons we wish to return our thanks for enabling us to make this valuable addition to historic literature. The patronage has been sufficiently generous to enable this to be done without any great loss to the owners and managers.

The nine years' issues, which will be ended in October, should be preserved in permanent, bound form by those who have them, as they are not only indispensable to any one writing Tennessee history, but the issue was a very limited one, and it will be almost impossible to get copies in the future.

A CORRECTION.

Mr. Frank Rodes writes us, under date of May 26, as follows:

"Referring to your April issue and Rodes family, folio 184, I stated in line 17 that John, born on June 2, 1766, married Jesena Brown, daughter of Bernice Brown. A direct descendant writes that this John married Francisca, a daughter of Bernard Brown.

"On folio 185, line 14, William (Rivers) is entered as born in July, whereas he was born in June; in line 16 Cynthia is entered as having married in 1857, whereas it should have been in 1851."

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PAUL FITZSIMONS EVE, A.M., M.D., LL.D.

Nashville

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PAUL FITZSIMONS EVE, A.M., M.D., LL.D.

BY R. A. HALLEY.

On the morning of Saturday, November 3, 1877, there died in the city of Nashville, Tenn., a man whose death not only carried sadness to many Nashville households, but cast a shadow over every circle where the higher surgery was known and appreciated—a man by whose decease the South lost its brightest medical light and one of its most eminent and successful educators.

When the news that Dr. Paul F. Eve was dead became generally known the regret was universal, for not only the city of Nashville, but the country and the world sustained a loss. Among those renowned in his profession there had been since the earliest days of American surgery none more deserving of honor than this gifted son of the South. So, the grief was general. The loss was keenly realized by his family, by his friends, and by the country. Dr. Eve was known as a man whose whole life had but one visible purpose, the practice of his profession—no other ends or aims or desires but progress in that profession. He had no pursuit to which he gave any part of his time save that of surgery, which received from him all the love and all the care and all the study that he had to bestow. To benefit humanity was his one thought, and the night was never too dark and dreary, nor the distance too long and rough for him to go to the bedside of the most humble and poverty-stricken sufferer. He was the type, so far as humanity could be the type, of the Great Physician. His was a life not uneventful; it was filled with events that were quiet blessings to

humanity and filled with benediction to the doctor. A man of single purpose, he was an illustration of what a man of singleness of purpose can accomplish. Read the roll of his honors:

Bearer of the Golden Cross of Honor, of Poland; President of the American Medical Association, 1857-58; President of the Tennessee State Medical Society, 1871-72; Centennial Representative of Surgery to the Medical Congress of Nations at Philadelphia, 1876; Professor of Surgery in the Medical College of Georgia from 1832 to 1849; Professor of Surgery in the University of Louisville in 1850; Professor of Surgery in the Medical Department of the University of Nashville from 1851 to 1868; Professor of Surgery in the Missouri Medical College at St. Louis in 1868-69; Professor of Surgery in the Medical Department of the University of Nashville and of Vanderbilt University from 1870 to 1876; and Professor of Surgery in the Nashville Medical College in 1877.

This brief record of positions of honor filled successively throughout a long and useful life, is in itself a comprehensive biography. Yet it is well to preserve a fuller record concerning this most distinguished of all the citizens of Tennessee in the annals of medicine and surgery. It is well, in the language of the preamble to the resolutions adopted by the faculty of which he was last a member, to perpetuate "a name which must endure forever in the annals of American surgery, which thousands of affectionate and grateful hearts—patients, students, colleagues and friends—will cherish through life as one of their dearest memories; which multitudes of Christians of all denominations will remember with thanksgiving in their prayers; which untold numbers yet unborn will revere as that of a pre-eminently grand and wise apostle of the healing art; a man who, during a life of seventy-one years of usefulness, was a constant messenger of peace and love, never weary, never faint, always forgetful of himself and never forgetful of his calling."

HIS EARLY YEARS.

Paul Fitzsimons Eve was born at Forest Hall, on the Savan-

and Aphra Ann Eve, and youngest of the eleven children of these parents who reached their majority. On the father's side he was of English descent, and on the mother's side was of the Scotch-Irish blood. His father had been captain of a Pennsylvania company before the War of the Revolution, as may be seen recorded in the Pennsylvania archives, and to this day the house is occupied on Frankfort Creek, near Philadelphia, where he manufactured gunpowder for the troops. At school Captain Eve had been a schoolmate of Dr. Rush, Dr. James and Dr. Shippen, of Philadelphia, and of others who afterwards became known in their country's annals for achievement in their various professions.

In his very early childhood Paul F. Eve was taught his letters by his widowed sister, Mrs. Sarah Adams, relict of Mr. John Adams who died in Ireland about the year 1812. In this same room where he had been an infant, and where he had been taught these first lessons by his sister, Dr. Eve slept when he last visited Augusta and the old home, in May, 1874. His first school days were at Richmond Academy, in Augusta, and his next at Mount Zion, in Hancock County, under Dr. Brennan. He had been from birth nearsighted, but did not discover this fact until a student at Franklin College, in Athens, Ga., where he next attended school, and even there was unconscious of it until in his senior year. He graduated from Franklin College, now the literary department of the University of Georgia, in August, 1826, receiving the degree of A.B., and the second honor in a class of twenty-four. Rev. Moses Waddel then presided over this institution, which had acquired at that time a widespread reputation for the excellence and thoroughness of its training. Paul F. Eve was a student of Franklin College for four years, and during this time he never missed attending a single recitation. This institution later conferred upon him the degrees of A.M. and LL.D.

AS A STUDENT OF MEDICINE.

He left Georgia immediately after graduating at Franklin College and went to Philadelphia, where he commenced the study of medicine as a private pupil of Dr. Charles D. Meigs, the dis-

tinguished author and teacher, in September, 1826. He attended two full courses in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, and received his degree of Doctor of Medicine in the spring of 1828. His diploma bears the names of many of the most celebrated teachers of that day—Drs. Hare, Cox, Jackson, James, Dewees, Chapman, Gibson, Horner and Physick; under all of these he attended lectures and from all of them he received instruction. His graduating thesis was on Uterine Hemorrhage, a subject on which his renowned preceptors, Drs. James and Dewees, were amply proficient to impart ideas that are standard even at the present day.

His original intention had been to remain in Philadelphia after completing the course of study, and to practice his profession there. He changed this plan because about the time of his graduation his aged father was seriously ill. Returning at once to Georgia, he gave his careful and unremitting attention to his father, and this act of filial devotion shaped his coming life for greatness. It was during this illness of his father that he first conceived his preference for surgery, his attention being turned in this direction by the necessary and frequent use of the catheter for an enlarged prostate gland. He had in the meantime begun the practice of medicine in Augusta, in June, 1828, in the office of Dr. Watkins, who was his brother-in-law and who died in Lexington, Ky., the same year. His father, Captain Eve, died in August, 1829.

Fired with enthusiasm over the possibilities of surgery, and with the desire to progress in his profession, Dr. Eve left for Europe in November, 1829, sailing in the ship *Perfect*, cotton laden, from Charleston, S. C. He arrived in Liverpool in December after a passage of twenty-eight days; he visited Dublin and Belfast, returning to Liverpool and going thence to London. After a brief sojourn in London, where he had letters to Sir Astley Cooper, Abernethy and others, and where he became

Larey, Dupuytren, Roux, Lisfranc, Cruviellhier, Trousseau, Recamier, Andrae, Ricord, Louis, Velpeau, and others. He had already made use of his visit to London by attending the hospital courses of Sir Astley Cooper, Abernethy and other famous surgeons.

HIS SERVICES FOR POLAND.

Dr. Eve was, therefore, in Paris in May, 1831, when all Europe was ablaze with turmoil and political excitement. He witnessed the dethronement of Charles X, in Paris, and professionally participated in the revolution of the three days (July 27, 28 and 29, 1830). Then he went to Poland and offered his services to that unhappy country in its resistance to Russian oppression. Remembering how the gallant Pulaski had fallen at the siege of Savannah during the Revolutionary struggle of 1776, he earnestly desired to aid in paying that debt to distressed Poland. He was detained in Berlin for a time, until with the assistance of letters from Lafayette and the Polish committee at Paris, but especially through the intervention of Dr. Graffe, himself a Pole, and his own indomitable energy and untiring will, he at length reached Warsaw, and was assigned immediately to hospital service in that city. For his evident ability and his conspicuous devotion to duty he was soon promoted from the hospital department to be field surgeon of the Fifteenth Regiment of Infantry and Surgeon of Ambulances attached to General Turno's division. The Golden Cross of Honor was also conferred on him on the recommendation of Count Placa, Chief of the Medical Bureau. During the storming and capture of Warsaw on the 7th and 8th of September, 1831, he was fortunately out of the city on duty. He was subsequently taken prisoner, however, and confined at Werichaw for thirty days, after which he was released under the plea of cholera. He reached Paris in October, and there rested and recuperated for several weeks. Sailing from Havre for New York on the first day of January, 1832, he reached America after a tedious voyage of fifty-three days.

For more than two years he had been gone from his native land, and in that time had had a more varied experience than falls to most men in a lifetime—experiences which filled his

retentive mind with information bearing on his chosen profession of surgery. Not only had he come in contact with men whose enlarged ideas he had come to know and appreciate, but he had had actual experience that could not have been gained elsewhere at the time or in any other manner. From New York to Augusta he traveled by stage all the way except from Annapolis to Norfolk, and again commenced to practice in that city. While passing through Washington he saw Andrew Jackson as President of the United States, and Mr. Foster, member of Congress from Georgia, the latter of whom urged Dr. Eve to solicit the President to appoint him surgeon in the United States army. Dr. Eve was also urged to come to New Orleans to practice, but disregarded all these persuasions and located in Augusta.

AS A TEACHER OF MEDICINE.

In June, 1832, Dr. Eve was elected Professor of Surgery in the Medical College of Georgia, just then organized in Augusta, and was there engaged in teaching for seventeen years, these seventeen consecutive courses of lectures bringing the college great reputation and prestige, and establishing Dr. Eve's fame as a teacher and a surgeon. When this college was organized, Dr. Dugas had the Chair of Anatomy, Dr. J. A. Eve the Chair of Obstetrics, Dr. Dent the Chair of Practice, and Dr. Ford that of Chemistry.

On the 21st of December, 1832, Dr. Eve married Miss Sarah Louisa Twiggs, of Richmond County, Georgia, the daughter of Major George Twiggs, who lived near Augusta. She died in May, 1851, in Augusta, and was buried at that place. By this marriage Dr. Eve had two children, George Twiggs Eve, who died in 1897, leaving a widow and three daughters, and a daughter, Anna Lou, who married Colonel V. K. Stevenson, the first President of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railway, and who is now a resident of New York. Mrs. Stevenson has three children—two sons and a daughter. The daughter married Mr.

In 1849 Dr. Eve had been chosen Professor of Surgery in the Medical Department of Louisville University to succeed the celebrated Dr. Samuel D. Gross, who went to New York. He delivered one course of lectures in the Louisville school, but in March, 1850, he resigned the chair of his own will because he had heard indirectly that Dr. Gross was not satisfied with his position in New York. As to how he had filled the chair vacated by his worldwide-known and eminent compeer, it is amply evidenced by the fact of the utmost regret with which the faculty of the Louisville University received his resignation. They finally accepted it because of the positive terms in which it was insisted upon, though he was solicited by the unanimous vote of the trustees, the faculty and the students to remain. But he believed, in addition to his consideration for Dr. Gross, that his wife's health was failing and that the locality of Louisville did not agree with her. Therefore, urged by this double consideration, he determined to return to Augusta.

REMOVAL TO NASHVILLE.

In 1851 the Medical Department of the University of Nashville was organized, and in response to a most cordial invitation Dr. Eve accepted the chair of surgery in the new college. This he occupied until the fall of Nashville, in 1862, and again after the end of the war until 1877, with the exception of two years spent in St. Louis. When Dr. Joseph Nash McDowell died in 1868 Dr. Eve was chosen his successor by the faculty of the Missouri Medical College, and accepted the position in the belief that the great city of St. Louis would give him a larger field of usefulness and success. But the greater rigor of the more Northern latitude was too severe for his family, and for his advancing years. He could not be contented away from the South, and so in 1870 he resigned his position and accepted the Chair of Surgery in the Medical Department of the University of Nashville, and lectured to the medical classes of the University of Nashville and of the Vanderbilt University, which then held joint sessions in the same halls. This was in the old Medical College Building then standing between Market and College streets, now torn away. He had finally determined to make

Nashville his permanent home in 1852, and from that time he spent the remainder of his life in Nashville, except during the days of the war and the two years in the St. Louis school. After his return to Nashville from St. Louis he remained with the Medical Department of the University of Nashville and Vanderbilt University until 1877, when he withdrew to aid in the up-building of a new school—the Nashville Medical College, afterwards the Medical Department of the University of Tennessee. His death occurred during the beginning of his second course of lectures in this institution.

He was engaged in teaching medicine nearly half a century—about forty-six years—and it is remarkable that during this entire time, in his lectures at the five institutions where he taught, he had never lost a single lecture, and but once was he forced by indisposition to exchange hours with a colleague. He had, of course, to exchange hours on frequent occasions by reason of unexpected or unavoidable professional duties, but always repaid them promptly.

His success as a teacher and the fame of his teaching may be shown by the records. From the time of its organization in 1832 with twenty-eight students, the Medical College of Georgia increased to one hundred and ninety-five students in the session of 1849-50, the last year of Dr. Eve's connection with the institution. This number exceeded the highest ever before or since attained. While he was with the institution its growth was steady, and every year showed the vastly increasing reputation of the college. So in the Medical Department of the University of Nashville the number of students increased from one hundred and thirty-six in the first year of its existence to four hundred and fifty-four for the last session before the war—the largest class then assembled in any medical college in this country outside of New York and Philadelphia. So in the newly organized Nashville Medical College, the fact of his connection with it drew many students to its doors.

Summed up briefly his connection with medical colleges was as thus given, always as a teacher of surgery: In the Medical College of Georgia from June, 1832, to October, 1849; Medical Department of the Louisville University from October, 1849, to

March, 1850; Medical Department of the University of Nashville from July, 1851, to October, 1868; Missouri Medical College from October, 1868, to June, 1870; Medical Department of the University of Nashville (and of Vanderbilt University) from 1870 to 1877; Nashville Medical College, 1877. This was his forty-third regular course of lectures.

But all this time Dr. Eve had been steadily taking a more advanced place in his profession, and acquiring wider personal reputation. This reputation was as a teacher and as a surgeon, a combination not as common as might appear. But he seemed pre-eminent in both. The five colleges in which he taught were not the only institutions that wanted his services and offered ample recompense for them. Frequent offers came to teach in other institutions. At various times in his life he was called to the Philadelphia Medical College, when its founder, Dr. McClinck, died; to New Orleans, Memphis and Columbus, Ohio; to the New York University, through Dr. Draper, when Professor Granville Sharp Pattison died in 1851.

Dr. Eve's early experience in the war for Polish independence was not his only military experience. In a list of surgeons and assistant surgeons appointed in the United States army for the volunteer service in the war against Mexico, in 1846, Dr. Eve's name ranks first. In 1859 he left for the seat of war in Europe, going direct to the battlefields of Solferino and Magenta, and communicating to the profession on his return to this continent his valuable observations, through the pages of the *Nashville Medical and Surgical Journal*. And his longest service of this character was with the armies of the South.

WITH THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE.

When war between the North and the South became an assured fact, Dr. Eve again offered his services to those wounded in battle. Among the first to place himself at the disposal of his State, he was, in November, 1861, appointed Surgeon-General of Tennessee and later Chief Surgeon of General Joseph E. Johnston's army; he was also President of the Army Medical Board for the examination of those who desired to be appointed surgeons and assistant surgeons in the army. When the fall of

Nashville became a certainty, and sudden evacuation was determined upon, he went away from the city of his adoption leaving everything he possessed. Fort Donelson had fallen. On the night of Sunday, February 16, 1862, he left the city at eleven o'clock at night. His family servants went with him, although he advised them to remain. Colonel V. K. Stevenson was with him, nearly blind from inflamed eyes. His whole family was out of the city, having gone to Augusta to bury his infant child, (Oswell Bones. By this forced flight he lost all his property. But he went with his own people into exile, his instrument case under his arm almost his sole possession—sore-hearted and tried, but willing to do all in his power to aid and comfort those who were giving up all they held dear except their faith in that country whose fortunes they were determined to espouse.

After a hurried visit to Augusta to see his family, Dr. Eve returned to Chattanooga and was ordered to organize a hospital service at Atlanta. He went, and remained in charge of the Gate City Hospital there until just after the battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862, when he was ordered to the front. He did able and valiant service with the army there, and subsequently at Columbus, Miss., where he was stationed for several months. Then he was ordered again to Atlanta, thence in 1863 to Augusta, and for a time to Richmond, Va. And so, throughout the war he was busy wherever duty called him. Wherever stationed, his eminent and varied attainments amply met and sustained the daily, even hourly, demands made upon him. After the surrender, he returned to Nashville.

Of the toils and trials of those years of battle, who can speak save the man who was in the midst of them? The story of want and deprivation extended even to the hospitals, and the medical corps suffered with the rest. But it ended at last, and after the long night day again dawned upon the land. When the cross of St. Andrew went down forever in defeat and men returned again to take up life where they had left off years before, Dr. Eve went first to Augusta, and thence came back to Nashville

AFTER THE WAR.

He began life anew, but with enlarged opportunities for usefulness to his fellow beings, gained from his tireless devotion to duty while with the army. When the South at once sought to restore the arts of peace to their former position, and began to resume all the avocations of life as far as possible, the Medical Department of the University of Nashville was one of the first educational institutions to announce the resumption of studies. Dr. Eve was at once engaged for his former work, and the college moved on in its new career. His standing as a teacher became continually more pronounced, and his reputation spread throughout the world. Popular confidence was even increased, because he had given additional evidence of his tireless energy and indomitable courage, on the battlefield and by his conscientious service in the cause of medical education.

In his family relations Dr. Eve was most happy, possessing at all times the unbounded love and devotion of wife and children. But while he most happily blended his social nature and his professional life, no claim of home indulgence ever interfered with his well remembered punctuality—one of the main springs of his great success.

After the death of his first wife Dr. Eve had married, January 19, 1852, Sarah Ann, daughter of Rev. H. D. Duncan, of Barnwell District, South Carolina, who survived him by nearly twenty years, dying June 29, 1897. His first year with the Medical Department of the University of Nashville having determined then to make the city of Nashville his permanent home, he removed to the capital of Tennessee in 1852, a few months after his second marriage. By his second wife Dr. Eve had three children—Duncan, Sarah and Paul F., all still living. The daughter married Edward Drane, of Clarksville, Tenn., and now lives in New York City.

HIS LEGACY TO THE PROFESSION.

Dr. Duncan Eve, the eldest son by the second marriage, was born in Augusta, Ga., May 1, 1853. He was educated at the Kentucky Military Institute and the University of Nashville,

receiving the B.S. degree from the latter in 1872; had the degree of A.M. conferred on him by Greeneville and Tusculum College in 1882; he graduated in medicine at Bellevue Hospital Medical College of New York City in 1874. He has been President of the Davidson County Medical Society; President of the Tennessee State Medical Society; President of the Mississippi Valley Medical Society, and First Vice President of the American Medical Association. For eighteen years he was Dean and Professor of Surgery of the Medical Department of the University of Tennessee, but is now and has been since 1895 Professor of Surgery in the Medical Department of Vanderbilt University. Besides being the Chief Surgeon of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, and surgeon to the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and to the Nashville Street Railway, he is president and member of the medical and surgical staff of the Nashville City Hospital, Fellow of the American Surgical Association and of various other societies. While he has devoted himself to the exacting demands made on him as a teacher and to the duties of his large and remunerative practice, having attained eminence as a teacher and practitioner of surgery, Dr. Duncan Eve has also found time for a limited amount of work in the way of medical literature. Besides other writings he is among the contributors to "Park's Surgery by American Authors" and the "American Reference Hand Book." He married Miss Alice Horton, daughter of Colonel J. W. Horton, and they have two children—a daughter, Bessie, and a son also named Duncan, who graduated from the Medical Department of Vanderbilt University in the spring of 1904 and at once began the practice of his profession as office assistant to his father and uncle.

Dr. Paul F. Eve (Jr.) the youngest son of Dr. Paul F. Eve, was born in Nashville, Tenn., July 13, 1857. He was educated at Montgomery Bell Academy and Vanderbilt University, and

sity of Tennessee. He is surgeon of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad and of the Nashville Street Railway; member of the surgical staff of the Nashville City Hospital, and member of prominent medical bodies and societies. He married Miss Jennie Brown, daughter of Mr. William M. Brown, and they have two children, Mary Brown and Paul F.

EUROPEAN TRIPS.

It was in 1873, with all of his family, that Dr. Eve made his seventh and last trip to Europe, where they spent the summer of 1873. The record of these seven voyages abroad is interesting, and they may be summarized in point of time, companionship, etc., as follows:

1829—Sailed in the ship *Perfect* (cotton laden) from Charleston, in November; in December arrived in Liverpool after a passage of twenty-eight days. Returned to New York in the *Rhone*, in fifty-three days, in 1832.

1839, May—In the ship *Duchess Orleans*, nineteen days to Havre, with his wife. In August returned in the *Garrick*, thirty-three days to New York.

1847, July—In steamer *Caledonia* from Boston to Liverpool in eleven days. In September returned by the steamer *Union*, French line, from Cherbourg to New York, in sixteen days.

1852, May—Steamer *Franklin* to Havre, in twelve days. Returned in the *Atlantic* from Liverpool to New York in ten days. Accompanied by his second wife, son George and daughter Anna Lou.

1859, July—Steamer *Persia* to Liverpool from New York in nine days, four hours. Returned by the *Persia* to New York from Liverpool in sixteen days. Accompanied by his wife, daughter Anna Lou and Miss McEwen.

1867, July—From New York to Liverpool in the *Boston* in ten days. In August from Liverpool back to New York in the *Ant-*

EDITORIAL WORK.

Dr. Eve was one of the editors of the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* for five years, that journal being then a monthly publication of sixty-four pages; of these sixty numbers appearing during his connection with it not one ever failed to appear by the prescribed date of publication, the first day of the month. This editorship lasted through the years 1845 to 1849, both inclusive, Dr. Eve being called at the latter date to Louisville, Ky. For a part of the time of his editorship Dr. Garvin was the associate editor, but the issuance of the magazine from the press was looked after by Dr. Eve. Dr. Eve was also one of the editors of the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* from its establishment in 1851 by Dr. W. K. Bowling to 1873, with one or two interruptions.

Not only was he for many years editorially connected with medical journalism in Nashville and elsewhere in the country, but he was the author of hundreds of monographs on surgery and surgical operations of an unusual kind. He also contributed to "Johnson's Cyclopaedia" sketches of distinguished physicians of the South and Southwest to the number of two hundred and fifty-seven, a wonderful accomplishment in itself, had he during his busy life done no other literary work. Yet these sketches are less numerous than his distinct contributions to the literature of American surgery and medicine. For writing these biographical sketches he was peculiarly well fitted—possibly no other man could have written so many or could have performed the work so well. But he kept pace with men as well as with matters. He knew almost every man in the profession who had acquired fame beyond his own neighborhood, and was familiar with the leading events in the lives of those who had earned their right to a place in such a work.

The available list of his contributions to medical literature is a long one and will be found appended to this sketch. It shows an active mind, a trenchant pen, and the ever-present desire to record for the benefit of others all that was new or noteworthy in his large and comprehensive reading and practice.

Among all his appointments to positions of honor and among all the contributions which he made to medical literature, how-

ever, the one he most highly esteemed was his selection to take part in the International Medical Congress held at Philadelphia in 1876. This honor he declared to be "one without a precedent, one to which no living man could succeed." When the centennial year of the nation approached, a Medical Commission had been organized to select the most able men for special departments to place before the world the achievements of one hundred years of American medicine. The great men of his profession singled out Dr. Eve for a public address covering the entire history of surgery in the South and Southwest. This address he delivered September 6, 1876, in Philadelphia. It was prepared with great care and deliberation and was the best effort of his life in that direction. It was delivered before the assembled medical and surgical wisdom of all parts of the globe; and was pronounced by all who listened to it to be one of the finest addresses they had ever heard. The greatest surgeons in America declared that no medical man in America was so competent as Dr. Eve for this great work, as it demanded a combination of all the qualities necessary to the accurate statistician, the trained historian, the author and the orator. It was his last contribution to the cause of medical literature—the closing as it was the crowning literary effort of a life filled with working and writing for his profession. The volume containing the printed proceedings of the Congress, including this address, was lying in the express office at the time of Dr. Eve's death, having just arrived, so that he never saw it in print.

TWO SIGNIFICANT EXTRACTS.

Among the fragments of his writing found with his papers after his death were two that seemed to have especially impressed Dr. Eve, inasmuch as he had copied them out in full and had them laid away with some memoranda relating to his life-work which he had started to prepare at the request of his friend, Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley, who wished to write a sketch of him. One of these is an extract which he credits to Dr. Samuel Henry Dickson, and which reads as follows:

"My mind finds rest in this position, to which, indeed, I have been so frequently driven that it is now habitual and fixed. I

question no man's veracity, as I will not submit my own to be questioned. I take the facts as presented by the reporter for what in good faith they seem to him. But I am looking upon them from a different standpoint, and see them in a different light. In my analysis I judge for myself of his competency to observe, to distinguish, to record. I note critically the manner and spirit of his communication; I weigh cautiously and make allowance for any detected bias from preconceived opinions—the warpings of his vanity, his interest, his ambition; and, after all, I decide according to reason and my best judgment. For, as no amount of evidence can establish or prove what is impossible, so it is not in me to believe what is incredible.”

The second extract is as follows:

“The late Professor Godman's contrast between the surgeon and the mere operator has ever been considered unique and complete. The difference between them may be estimated by contrasting them. ‘The surgeon,’ says he, ‘inquires into the causes and removes the consequences of constitutional or local disease, the operator inquires into the willingness of his patient to submit and resorts to the knife; the surgeon relies on the restoration of healthy actions by regimen and medicine, the operator relies on himself and cuts the diseased parts; the surgeon reflecting on the comfort and feelings of his patient uniformly endeavors to save him from pain and deformity, the operator considers his own immediate advantage and the notoriety he may acquire regardless of other considerations; the surgeon reluctantly decides on the employment of instruments, the operator delays no longer than to give his knife a keen edge; the surgeon is governed by the principles of science, the operator most generally by the principles of interest; one is distinguished by the number he has saved from mutilation and restored to usefulness, the other by the number of cripples he has successfully made; the surgeon is an honor to his profession and a benefactor of man-

medical education, medical literature and medical journalism, it was as a surgeon that he was greatest; it was as a surgeon that he held pre-eminent rank, and acquired a name which must forever endure in the annals of American surgery. It was because he was devoted to his profession—kind, energetic, brave and noble—that he was enabled to do such deeds for the suffering that thousands of affectionate and grateful hearts will cherish his name through life as one of their dearest memories.

EARLY WORK AS A SURGEON.

The first years of his practice were fruitful years. In the Transactions of the American Medical Association for 1849 Dr. Eve received a merited compliment on the work that he had already accomplished. In the report of the Committee on Medical Literature, by Dr. J. P. Harrison, there is this statement: "Professor Eve in the *Southern Journal* in the July, November and January numbers has communicated the following cases of operative surgery—lithotomy; successful amputation at the shoulder joint, patient under chloroform; operations on the jaws, with results in fourteen cases, and four minor operations of the first day's clinic in the Medical College of Georgia. An elevated position in our profession has been won by this accomplished surgeon."

In the same volume, in the report of the Committee on Surgery, by Professor Nathan R. Smith, chairman, it is said: "Dr. Paul F. Eve, the distinguished Professor of Surgery in the Medical College of Georgia, furnishes a table of fifty-four cases in which chloroform was exclusively employed, with most gratifying results. Four of the cases were of lithotomy. In some the anesthetic influence was insufficient, and in others too profound, but nothing otherwise untoward occurred."

In 1851 he was the reporter on surgery to the American Medical Association, sufficient indication of his acknowledged rank as a surgeon. It was also in the year 1851 that he removed the Christa Galli in a fracture and the patient survived six days, and also among the very first to make a successful hystorectomy. It was in the same year that he removed successfully by tracheotomy and forceps a nail from the left bronchus, after several

European as well as American surgeons had failed. Altogether there were fourteen difficult operations in surgery which were performed for the first time by him, among them the successful trephining of the skull over the right lateral sinus of the brain and removal of a foreign body.

At the annual meeting in Nashville in 1857 of the American Medical Association, the association elected Dr. Eve President, the highest honor that the medical profession can bestow upon one of its members.

In Circular No. 7, issued by the War Department in 1867 under the direct charge of the Surgeon General of the United States, is published the fact that in collecting the history for the report on Amputations at the Hip-Joint, "the most cordial and intelligent co-operation has been received from the distinguished Professor of Surgery at Nashville, Tenn.—Dr. Paul F. Eve."

AS A LITHOTOMIST.

In 1867 Dr. Eve reported to the American Medical Association at its annual meeting in San Francisco the synopsis and analysis of one hundred cases of lithotomy, performed by the bi-lateral method, and, for their identification, the name of the patient, residence, state, age, sex, race, where performed, number of calculi removed, their weight and composition, together with the final result of each operation. This communication has been declared to be chief in value of all the contents of this volume of the "Transactions." The bi-lateral method was his favorite plan of operating. Professor Hamilton, in his "Principles and Practice of Surgery," published in 1870, says: "In regard to the bi-lateral method of lithotomy, especially is it proper to mention that this operation has been performed one hundred times in persons of all ages by Dr. Paul F. Eve, of Nashville, Tenn., of whom only eight have died; a success which has rarely if ever been attained by any other operator, and which justly entitles him to the position he has so long occupied as one of the most skilled of American surgeons."

Up to the time of his death Dr. Eve had performed two hun-

fully. He was always remarkable in his profession, and as a lithotomist he was perhaps without an equal in this or in any other country. Of all his bilateral operations for stone in the bladder, eleven only terminated fatally. Of all the applicants that came for relief to him not one did he ever refuse. In all things he left a record on which the profession in every land can look with feelings of pride, a record insuring that the name of Paul F. Eve will live in the annals of the profession which he honored and that his memory will be cherished not only by those who knew him but by all who know of his standing in the medical world. He published the successful performance of amputations of all classes without losing one case up to the fifty-fourth, the statistics of the major operations comprising seven of the leg and seven of the thigh. He reported as "Contributions to the Hip-Joint Operations" twenty amputations, and eighteen resections performed in the Confederate service. He reported three cases of gunshot wounds, in which the ball lodged in the vertebral column, two patients still living, with remarks on "Division of the Spinal Cord without Death." He performed a safe and effectual operation for varicocele, and invented a canulated needle for applying ligatures and sutures. He relieved extroversion of the female genital organs. He was among the first to direct the attention of American surgeons to Esmarch's bloodless method in amputations.

AN ENDURING MEMORIAL.

As a specialist in the field of lithotomy Dr. Eve never had an equal. The calculi removed he always preserved, and they grew into a splendid collection before he died. Shortly before his death the Medical Museum of the United States Army, in the Surgeon-general's office in Washington, sought to acquire the collection by gift or purchase but Dr. Eve was unwilling to part with the specimens. Finally he allowed the Surgeon-general to split the specimens in half, and they mounted each set of halves handsomely, placing one set in the museum and returning the other set to Dr. Eve. The set belonging to Dr. Eve was kept in the museum of the medical college with which he was last connected, and were destroyed when that building burned. That

the other set is still in existence is matter for congratulation to the surgical profession, for they form a collection unequalled in the world as the contribution of a single man—a collection that will in all probability never be equalled by any other.

In Professor Samuel D. Gross' "History of American Medical Literature from 1776 to 1876" he says that "Professor Eve's collection of 'Remarkable Cases in Surgery' as a book of reference possesses great value," and the same eminent author and surgeon, in his report to the American Medical Association in 1857 declared that this book "reflected much credit upon the industry and researches of the author." This work is a handsome octavo in which Dr. Eve took great pleasure, and in the compilation of which he exhibited deep learning and wide research. It will always rank high among books of this character.

SUCCESS UNDER DISADVANTAGES.

When he was in his seventy-first year Dr. Eve wrote: "I may say that though reared on a swamp then converted into a rice field yet I never had a chill or fever and never took a dose of quinine. Went through Franklin College, afterwards better known as the University of Georgia, at Athens, a four years' course, and never missed a recitation. Took two full courses in the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, never was tardy once or missed a lecture.

"While I dare not say that I have done all that I could have done with the means afforded, as a medical professor said in Paris when dying, yet I hope I can truly declare that I have tried to do so. If I have acquired reputation in the medical profession, whatever that may be, it has ever been with a serious defect in two intellectual faculties, sight and hearing. I was born near-sighted and defective in distinguishing colors. I have worn near-sighted glasses from the time when I was twenty years of age, but fortunately never read or studied through them

to me a sealed book; so has auscultation. My hearing is acute, but I never could distinguish one note from another. I know little or nothing of diseases recognized by differences in sounds or colors. What I have done in or for medicine has been with these serious defects.

"I know not the value of a single card in the pack. I leave also on record for my children and grandchildren and my countrymen the fact that I never took a drink of liquor in my life. To this day I know not the difference between brandy, gin, rum, whiskey, etc."

Dr. Eve's daily habit had been to retire about nine o'clock, never later than ten p.m., and to rise at daylight in winter and at sunrise in summer. To regular habits of eating, sleeping and labor, together with his total abstinence from alcoholic stimulants and tobacco, he attributed much of his good health, health so excellent, indeed, that for nearly half a century he had not lost a day by sickness, and had reached his sixty-eighth year before he felt any influence of age. Even in his sixty-eighth year he believed that the feeling, rather than being due to age, was caused by injuries received from falls on his head. The first of these falls was down the stairway, in October, 1872; the second in his office in February, 1873, and the third from a mule at two o'clock in the morning while going to see Dr. Buchanan's son in August, 1874.

Dr. Eve crossed the Atlantic fourteen times in the interest of his profession, adding immeasurably by his studies abroad to his rich store of medical and surgical information. He was a man distinguished far above his fellows in the walks of medicine—a man who through the incessant activities of a long life was an example to his fellows of what useful and distinguished positions true merit may attain; who left his impress upon all contemporaneous medicine. He was just as truly illustrious in the private paths of medical life. With him it made no difference whether his patient dwelt in a palace or an humble cabin. He was always ready to go among the afflicted; and that they were afflicted was enough to enlist his most ardent efforts. He died in the discharge of his duty—died as he would have chosen to die—while ministering to the suffering who needed his attention.

A DISTINGUISHED TYPE.

Of noble stature and commanding presence, with a splendid head and refined features illumined by the light of genius, Dr. Eve would have been a distinguished type in any group of the most intellectual of his fellowmen. Large of frame and strong of muscle, he seemed and was the embodiment of tireless energy and persistence. To mental qualifications with which he was plenteously endowed by nature, he added the ripe scholarship of a close student and the culture of extensive travel and large experience. He was a great surgeon, but he was also a congenial, entertaining and instructive companion. Perhaps his most notable characteristic socially was his kindly sympathy and charitable consideration for the younger members of his profession. He was always anxious to help them either by word of encouragement, or by the more efficient aid of well-timed advice. His zeal in his profession was unswerving, and his self-sacrificing devotion to its duties—his quick sympathy for suffering humanity, and his ever-ready ministrations to its alleviation were proverbial throughout his career and were even more conspicuously marked in the closing hours of his long, useful and blameless life.

Blameless? Yes; so far as it can be said of any mortal. For above all Dr. Eve was a devoted Christian, and adorned the church as he adorned the medical profession. He had been for many years a ruling elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Nashville. He was always in his place, a pillar of strength, a bright and shining light.

A NOBLE EXIT FROM LIFE.

His death was surrounded by dramatic circumstances no less than his life was filled with them. A more noble exit from this

Dr. Eve had some time previously predicted the manner of his death, saying: "When I die it will be a sudden shock; it will commence at my head and end at my feet." On the day before his death he said to Dr. Duncan Eve: "My son, I don't feel well." "Father, what is the matter?" asked the son. "I don't know," he responded; "I am tired; I feel a little sick at the stomach." He then told his son that he had better go and see a patient upon whom both had been attending. He wished to accompany his son, but Dr. Duncan Eve objected, taking occasion to remonstrate with his father for overtaxing his strength, which had failed perceptibly in consequence of overwork. Dr. Eve's reply was characteristic of the man and of his whole life. He said: "My son, I would rather wear out than rust out."

About dusk the same day he insisted on going to see Thomas Lafferty, a yard man who had been that afternoon crushed at the switch on one of the railroads, but was finally dissuaded and the son went alone. Dr. Eve was much interested in this case, and when the younger doctor returned made close inquiries about Lafferty's condition, being informed that he would live till daylight. During the night Dr. Duncan Eve had two calls to see the patient, and the second ringing of the bell awoke the elder Dr. Eve, who said he thought he ought to go down with his son, but was with difficulty persuaded not to go. He said, however, that he would go down at any rate before breakfast. Against this the son also protested and departed.

THE LAST DAY.

In accordance with Dr. Eve's lifelong habit, he had retired at nine o'clock. Despite his interrupted sleep, the next morning he awoke at five, dressed, and went down to see Lafferty. Out of that earthly paradise, where wife and children arose to give him the reverence of love: up from the soft pillows of rest, giving his last strength to professional duties, he went forth for the last time—to die; and he who so long had ministered to countless others died unattended by those who would have soothed his passage to the grave. In that brief moment between full life and sudden death his last expressed wish was to return in death to his kindred dust, to be laid by his father and mother.

He had made the visit to his patient, and on his return met a friend of Lafferty's at the depot on Church street near the switch. This friend asked about the injured man's condition and was told: "He is doing very well, sir; but I feel very sick myself." Walking up as far as the Depot Hotel, he stopped to see a lady patient upon whom an operation had been performed the day previous—the removal of a tumor from her neck. His strength failed him as he reached the hotel, and he sat down for a moment on the porch floor at the entrance.

Mr. Kellogg, the proprietor of the hotel, went to him and inquired if anything was the matter. He replied: "I am very sick." He was invited and assisted into the hotel and into the public parlor, where his patient at her own request had been permitted to remain. Seated here, Dr. Eve again spoke of his illness and requested Mr. Kellogg to send a messenger for his buggy, and the proprietor left the room to carry out the wish. Almost immediately he was recalled by a cry of alarm from the lady, who exclaimed: "Dr. Eve is falling from his chair; come to him at once." Mr. Kellogg rushed into the room, but was too late to give much assistance. Dr. Eve had fallen upon his face and lay doubled up in a heap. Mr. Kellogg threw water on his face, thinking it was a fainting spell, but it did not avail; the end was coming fast. He bent over the dying man and caught his last whispered words: "Send for Duncan—take me to Augusta." He died at 6.25 o'clock.

Another message was sent hastily to Dr. Duncan Eve, and just as he was hurrying into the buggy to go to his father he received the news of his death. The body was removed to Dr. Eve's residence on the corner of Church and Vine streets and laid out. There was on the face of the dead man no expression of pain, but only that same placid benignant smile that marked it during life.

And so, at the bedside of a patient, and "with harness on," in the language of a former colleague, he passed into the unknown

THE GENERAL GRIEF.

The sad event was at once bulletined at the newspaper offices and occasioned general grief, such was the deep hold he had gained on the hearts of the people. As soon as they heard of his death many physicians hastened to the family residence to offer their condolences and their assistance. When the news became known at the medical college where he taught the entire student body formed and marched to the residence to indicate their respect.

It has often been the case that distinguished men die in clusters; that in a single week more notable men will pass away than in a year before or after. He who was esteemed the greatest of Southern surgeons died on the last day of the week in which died Adams, the actor; Morton, the statesman, and Forrest, the noted Confederate cavalry leader. Each of these men had the widest of reputations in his own sphere.

Owing to the fact that the burial was to be at Augusta in accordance with his wish, the funeral services in Nashville were held on the afternoon of Saturday, the day of his death, at his late residence. Rev. Thomas A. Hoyt, the pastor of the church where he belonged, and Rev. T. G. Jones, of the First Baptist Church, of which Mrs. Eve was a member, conducted the services. The scene was very impressive, as the members of the medical profession and the students of the medical colleges passed in procession by the coffin to take a last look at the face of the departed teacher and associate, the Nestor of Southern surgery.

Colonel E. W. Cole, who was then president of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railway, furnished a special Pullman for the party accompanying the remains to Augusta, and the train to which this was attached left Nashville Sunday morning. A large number of friends and acquaintances, the session and members of the First Presbyterian Church, the faculties of the Nashville Medical College and the Medical Departments of the University of Nashville and Vanderbilt University and students of these institutions assembled at the residence and escorted the body to the depot. The pallbearers were Dr. W. P. Jones, Dr. J. J. Abernathy, Dr. J. B. Stephens and Professor W. G. Brien,

from the faculty of the Nashville Medical College, and Messrs. R. G. Throne, J. M. Sinclair, A. G. Adams and R. S. Cowan, elders of the First Presbyterian Church. The students formed in line in front of the hearse, then the family, physicians and citizens, the students opening ranks at the depot and allowing the hearse to pass through. The casket was placed on the train, and the funeral party took the Pullman coach. Besides the family there were the pallbearers and representatives of the students and faculty of the Nashville Medical College; also Colonel Cole and his sister-in-law, Miss Russell. The old family servants, too, were with the party. At almost every large station there were eager and sorrowful inquiries from citizens who knew the distinguished deceased and had come to see the passing of the funeral train.

BURIED NEAR HIS BIRTHPLACE.

Arriving at Augusta Monday morning, the party was met at the depot by many citizens and physicians, who escorted the body to the residence of Dr. Joseph Eve, his cousin, where relatives and friends took a last view of the deceased. Rev. Dr. Irvine held a brief service and the remains were taken to the old family burying ground six miles in the country, nestling among the sighing pines. In a grave walled with brick the body was laid and covered with the shining sand within fifty yards of the spot where Dr. Eve was born. His request that he be buried not in an iron coffin but in a wooden one, was complied with, as was every other request he had previously in life made concerning his burial.

On the following Sunday, as a tribute from his Nashville friends and from his own church, memorial services were held at the First Presbyterian Church, and that afternoon the church was filled with sorrowing friends and acquaintances. Many of the medical profession were present. Rev. T. G. Jones read a

father, a true Christian; he paid tribute to the indomitable energy that characterized him to the last, to his womanly gentleness and childlike faith. Dr. T. G. Jones also delivered a short eulogy, and Dr. Summers added to these tributes some things which intimate association with Dr. Eve for many years had revealed to him of his kindly nature and gentle disposition. The hymn "Asleep in Jesus," and the benediction closed the service.

Dr. Eve's death was regarded as a national loss, and of the many tributes to his memory it is possible to give but a few. In the memorial meetings held by the physicians of Nashville and the various faculties, it may safely be said that hardly a well known physician of Nashville failed to take part. The faculty of the college with which he was at the time of his death connected, the Nashville Medical College; the faculty of the Medical Department of the University of Nashville and Vanderbilt University, then a joint institution; the Nashville Medical Society, and a general meeting of the physicians of Nashville all met and expressed their regret at the loss to Nashville and to the world of medicine and surgery. Physicians of almost every other Southern city, and medical societies of not only the South but of almost every State in the Union gave expression to their esteem for the dead surgeon and their regret at his decease. Students and faculties of every medical institution with which he had ever been connected united in the general expression of grief. All these institutions knew what he was as a teacher, and knew what the world had lost when he died.

DR. W. K. BOWLING'S TRIBUTE.

At a meeting of the faculty and students of the Medical Department of the University of Nashville and Vanderbilt University held to do honor to his memory, the venerable and life-long friend of the deceased, Dr. W. K. Bowling, was called to the chair, and made a short address in commemoration.

"A great man has fallen in our profession," he said. "Paul

moned him. He obeyed the call as he had uniformly obeyed all calls, promptly and unhesitatingly. We need not say here how grandly he stood before the profession of his country as the journalist and the lecturer for nearly half a century or how in the beginning of his medical career he left his studies in the French metropolis to assist struggling Poland in her last effort for national existence, or how among the last acts of that dying government was the decoration of the young surgeon with the Golden Cross of Honor. These things are known to all of us as are the familiar faces of our households. Twenty years after his achievements in Poland the young surgeon accepted a call to the Medical Department of the University of Nashville, not asking that anything be secured to him for the risk of fame and fortune in lending his energy to the infant enterprise. From this stand he addressed the first class ever assembled in this hall. We remember as well as if it were but yesterday with what grace and dignity he arose and approached the rostrum, and how his splendid presence and lofty eloquence held the large assembly spellbound. At the end of his address the reporter for our chief daily paper came to me and said: "That Georgian in the beginning swept me off my feet and I touched ground no more until he was through. Will you write a synopsis for our paper?" We told him that we too had been tenants of the air for the last half-hour. Of all men we have heard lecture, in force and presence he was the grandest. To a rising college he was a host of sleepless energy and perseverance that no obstacle could appal or weaken. And too as a journalist nothing escaped him, and as a paragraphist he exceeded every American medical writer. Of all men the promptest, so much so, indeed, as to earn the sobriquet of 'the old town clock,' and yet so methodical that he was seldom absent from his pew when called to church business or devotions. He was among the earliest of vice presidents of the American Medical Association and reached

Other speakers also paid tribute to Dr. Eve while the resolutions were being prepared. They recommended the address of Dr. Bowling as the preamble, and affixed resolutions declaring the regret of the meeting.

At the Nashville Medical College, with which Dr. Eve was connected, the grief was deep and sincere. After it had been announced that Dr. Eve was dead the students formed a line and marched to the residence where they looked upon the remains of their deceased professor. Upon their return to the college appropriate resolutions were adopted, and a large portrait of Dr. Eve on the wall of the lecture room was draped in mourning. A committee was also appointed to attend the remains until the time of the funeral, and another committee to accompany the remains to Georgia as the special representative of the class.

DR. S. D. GROSS' FRIENDSHIP.

When Professor S. D. Gross, the famous surgeon, came into the lecture room at Jefferson Medical College on the morning of November 13, he said: "Gentlemen: Before I begin my lecture I have a word to say to you of my warm personal friend, Dr. Paul F. Eve, whose death at Nashville has very lately occurred. Dr. Eve's name has been for many years a household word and veneration in the many homes where his kindly sympathy and tender skill have brought him, while his honest, unselfish friendship gives him affectionate remembrance in more than one country." Professor Gross then gave a short sketch of the professional career of Dr. Eve, and said: "When I went from Louisville to New York Professor Eve took my chair in Louisville, but upon hearing at the end of a year that I was dissatisfied with New York, he nobly resigned his place in Louisville in my favor. In later years he labored in Nashville with great honor and in her service he died. His name is honorably connected with the most brilliant operations in the annals of surgery. The history of my whole life presents no warmer friendship and regard than that which it held for this great and good man. Let us each one, gentlemen, keep his name ever fresh in memory, and drop a tear of reverence as we stand in imagina-

tion by his grave." A committee of five was appointed to draw up resolutions expressing the regret of the class.

OTHER TRIBUTES.

The St. Louis Republican copied the notice from one of the Nashville dailies and added: "Dr. Eve will be remembered by former students of the Missouri Medical College as a tall and exceedingly handsome old man with snow-white beard and hair, and a magnificent physical development of which he was exceedingly proud. He came here in 1868 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Joseph N. McDowell, the founder of the institution. He was one of the best of teachers, and was never so much at home as in the lecture room. Notwithstanding his advanced years, he retained at that time a remarkable degree of vigor. Standing before the class he on one occasion said: 'You think I'm growing old. I'll show you.' And suiting the action to the word he took a cambric needle and holding it at extreme arm's length, threaded it without difficulty. He remained here only about two years, his return to the South being due mainly to the strength of his associations there and to climatic influences which he wished to cultivate."

The Southwestern Kentucky Medical Association, in session at Hickman, upon the announcement of the death of Dr. Eve named a committee which prepared suitable resolutions and they were adopted unanimously. In part this tribute read: "A long and eventful career in peace and war was his lot. Dr. Paul F. Eve was a remarkable man. While he occupied one of the highest positions in the temple of scientific medicine and surgery on the Western continent and was known and honored as a medical man throughout the world, he was as plain and simple in his manners as a child, always approachable by the humblest as well as the greatest, and literally carried his heart in his hand for the good of his day and generation. In his chivalric sense

of the laborious duties of his calling; his last act being an act of kind and benevolent attention to the sick under his charge. Such men as Dr. Paul F. Eve never die. They may breathe their last breath and their bodies may be consigned to the silent tomb, there to remain until the trumpet of the final resurrection shall sound, but their beneficent acts and teachings still live among men as parts of the immortal minds that gave them birth."

Dr. Eve was an honorary member of the Pulaski, Tenn., Academy of Medicine, which met on the 6th of November and adopted resolutions of the most appreciative character concerning the great loss to the medical world sustained by his death. Among other things the resolutions recite that "we recognize in him a surgeon of the very highest order of intellect—cautious, though bold and prompt enough when the occasion demanded, and successful in the highest degree; a man of pure moral habits, a conscientious Christian and of incorruptible honesty; added to all these fine and glowing sensibilities which at once excite our respect and win our affection."

IN THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

Dr. Eve's death was known to the profession at large long before the meeting of the highest medical body with which he was connected, the American Medical Association, which did not convene until the following June, 1878. Notwithstanding the time that had elapsed, the formal announcement of the decease of this distinguished member was received with silent manifestations of grief. An admirable sketch of Dr. Eve had been prepared by Dr. T. Chalmers Dow, and was spread upon the minutes of the meeting in full. This sketch is a touching tribute, and brings out some of the prominent characteristics of the departed. After an appreciative citation of the leading events in his career, Dr. Dow says: "In person Dr. Eve was large and commanding, being over six feet in height. On the occasion of his visits to Paris the great Velpeau was used to introduce him as "the tall American surgeon." He was frank, open-hearted and open-handed. He was emphatically the students' freind, and excelled as a lecturer, always commanding the strictest attention from his classes; embodying in the fullest degree the idea of Demosthenes

in action ; impulsive, yet most graceful in his gestures, and possessing the most unbounded popularity with his numerous students. His manners were unassuming, his friendships warm, constant and sincere. His intercourse with his professional brethren was noted for its ethical purity and kindness. His learning, wisdom and skill were all enhanced by the beautiful illustration reflected from his private life, for he was honorable, truthful, pure and lovely. 'The noblest workers of the world bequeath us nothing so great as the image of themselves. Their task, be it ever so glorious, is historical and transient ; the majesty of their spirit is essential and eternal.' "

PRESENTATION OF HIS PORTRAIT.

A committee which had been appointed to gather together the portraits of the ex-presidents of the association reported at the meeting of the American Medical Association held at Saratoga Springs in 1902, through the chairman of the committee on portraits, Dr. J. Rawson Pennington, a number of fine portraits secured, and among them the portrait of Dr. Paul F. Eve. The portrait of Dr. Eve was formally presented to the association by Dr. Lewis S. McMurtry, of Louisville, Ky., who said :

"It has been a custom of our profession since the earliest times to preserve some personal memento of those whose labors have enriched medical science. In the archives of the medical societies of London, Edinburgh, Paris and other centers of medical learning will be found the portraits and papers of the immortals of our profession. It is a most worthy custom. In our American Hall of Fame it is eminently appropriate that a conspicuous place be conceded to the portrait of Paul F. Eve, of Nashville, Tenn. A great teacher and practitioner of surgery, he advanced the knowledge and molded the practice of the American profession in the middle decades of the nineteenth

dent of the American Medical Association and had presided over its deliberations in 1857 and 1858. Of his numerous and valuable contributions to medical literature his work entitled "Remarkable Cases in Surgery," will ever remain among the choicest of medical classics. His life was an unbroken series of laborious years. His name and fame are perpetuated in his old home by his two distinguished sons, Drs. Duncan and Paul F. Eve, of Nashville, Tenn., both eminent teachers and practitioners of surgery."

Hearty applause followed the delivery of this eloquent tribute to the memory of a man who was well remembered despite the fact that a quarter of a century had elapsed since his death. And both the man and his name are long to be remembered in this association—remembered till all who knew him are gone, when the pages of medical history will still chronicle his meritorious works.

DR. EVE'S WRITINGS.

Dr. Eve began at an early period of his life to give attention to the literary end of his profession, even before he had graduated from college, and the list of his contributions is a lengthy one. The first work in this direction was purely clerical in its nature, but was in connection with an address of note. In the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume IV, page 26, 1827, then edited by Drs. Hodge, Bache, Meigs and Coates, all well known to the medical profession, will be found an article bearing the title "Introductory Lecture to a Course of Clinical Lectures in the Pennsylvania Hospital, delivered on the 3rd of December, 1766. By Thomas Bond, M.D., one of the physicians of the hospital." This was the first formal clinical lecture ever delivered in the United States to the profession, and in presenting it in the journal of which he was one of the editors, its first publication, despite its age, Professor Charles D. Meigs, M.D., stated: "We are indebted to Mr. Paul Eve, student of medicine, who obligingly copied it from the minute book of the Pennsylvania Hospital, where it had been preserved since the original entry, made in obedience to the vote of the managers."

His first original contribution was on the probability of the cholera reaching America, dated on the packet ship Rhone,

December, 1831, from Havre to New York City. This was published in the New York City *Journal of Commerce* in January, 1832.

The second contribution was on Asiatic Cholera Morbus, written by request of the editor of the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, and printed in Volume X, page 524, 1832. Dr. Eve had then just returned from the war that resulted in the fall of Poland, and the disease had prevailed in the armies there.

Subsequent contributions may be summarized as follows:

3. Introductory lecture on the occasion of opening the first course of lectures in the Medical College of Georgia, delivered in Augusta, Ga., October, 1832, and published in pamphlet form. This lecture advocated the importance of establishing such an institution in the state, and the extension of the term of lectures to six months.

4. A Case of Compound Comminuted Fracture of the Cranium, successfully treated by the removal of three pieces of the external table of the bone. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, Volume XII, page 549, 1833.

5. Case of Spontaneous Rupture of the Uterus During Delivery. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume III, page 117, 1838.

6. Medical Education in Georgia. Communicated to the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, Volume XIV, page 523, 1834. (Communicating the fact that four students graduated after the first course of lectures, and fifteen the next, in the Medical College of Georgia.)

7. Observations on the Treatment of Gunshot Wounds, Ulcers, etc. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, Volume XV, page 120, 1834. (Advocating the use of the chlorides of lime and soda.)

8. Successful Amputation of the Thigh, Affected by Traumatic Mortification where Apparent Gangrenous Inflammation

Cranium; patient doing well twenty years afterwards, though the palate, soft and hard, remained opened. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume I, page 78, 1836.

10. Review of Dr. Heber Chase, Member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, etc., on the Radical Cure of Hernia. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume II, page 469, 1837.

11. Amputation of Both Legs, though not simultaneous, yet about two hours apart; patient rode out on the tenth day and was carried out by his own suggestion on the fourteenth day. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume I, page 261, 1836.

12. Review of Dr. Doane's "Surgery Illustrated." *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume I, page 297, 1836.

13. Injuries of the Fore Finger, proving that the same may be saved, yet remain useless to the patient. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume I, page 385, 1836.

14. Report of a Case of Dysentery to the Augusta Medical Society, Caused by Morrison's Hygienic Pills. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume I, page 443, 1836.

15. Review of Dr. Chase's Treatise on the Radical Cure of Hernia. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume I, page 469, 1837.

16. Account of a Youth Born Without Arms, substituting his toes for fingers. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume I, page 522, 1837.

17. Essay on the Question, Ought not the Use of Pessaries to be Abandoned? (Advocating the affirmative.) *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume I, page 641, 1837.

18. Injuries to the Cephalic and Abdominal Contents; death in ten minutes from a blow of the fist on the head, and in another case within twenty-four hours from the kick of a horse lacerating the liver. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume II, page 70, 1827.

two hundred biliary calculi had passed, "Could Surgery Afford Any Possible Relief Under these Circumstances?" Reply negatively. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume II, page 195, 1837.

21. Obituary Notice and Resolutions on the demise of the venerable and distinguished Professor Philip Syng Physick, M.D. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume II, page 322, 1837.

22. Essay on What are the Characteristic or Diagnostic Symptoms of Cancer. (Read before the Medical Society of Augusta, Ga.) *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume II, page 462, 1838.

23. Excision of Schirrous Tumor near the Tonsil; Injury to Scalp; Compound Comminuted Fracture of both bones of the Forearm—amputated; Piece of Percussion Cap in the Eye for Two Years—Sympathetic Affection of the Sound One; Gunshot Wound of Wrist—Limb Saved; Aneurism by Anastomosis on the Head—Destruction of Tumor by Excision. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume II, page 643, 1838.

24. Successful Exsection of nearly one-half of the Lower Jaw Bone, including one of its angles, for Osteo-sarcoma. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume II, page 720. Reprinted in *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, Volume XXIII, page 261, 1838. Also, in the *Philadelphia Medical Examiner*, Volume I, page 306, 1838. Also noticed in the *Eclectic Journal of Medicine*, page 66, 1839. Also in the *Philadelphia Medical Examiner*, September 12, 1838.

25. Introductory Lecture to the Class in the Medical College of Georgia, October, 1838. (History from Its Organization.) *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume III, page 1, 1838.

26. Spontaneous Rupture of the Uterus During Delivery—Patient died in twenty-four hours. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume III, page 117, 1838.

27. Successful Division of the Abductor Longus Femoris Muscle for Deformity and Loss of Motion in the Inferior Ex-

cal Sciences, Volume XXV, page 129, 1838. In *Reese's American Edition of Samuel Cooper's Surgical Dictionary*, 1859, it is stated that the honor of being the first surgeon of America who performed myotomy, as it may be contradistinguished from tenotomy, for the removal of deformity, belongs to Dr. Paul F. Eve. Concerning this operation, however, later in life Dr. Eve placed on record his belief that whatever may have been his own opinion and that of his friends when the operation was performed, they were all mistaken in attributing the result to the operation. He said that it had not at the time he spoke, August, 1875, been repeated, and he was inclined to the conclusion that the relief in the case should have been attributed to the extension, etc., applied after the treatment.

28. An Essay on the Question, "Are there any signs or Symptoms by which Worms can be Inferred certainly to exist in the Alimentary Canal?" (Position assumed that there is none.) Read before the Medical Society of Augusta. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume III, page 321, 1839.

29. Professional Letters from Europe to the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. Account of M. Velpeau at La Charite. Case of Fractured Ulna by muscular contraction, probably the first on record. Pins under varicose veins most successful. 1839.

30. Same. Simple Gunshot Wounds Treated by the Roller. No tetanus in the hospitals of Paris, but much erysipelas. Ivory probes, canules and bourgies introduced into Paris hospitals prepared by removing the earthy salts. Magendie's lecture and experiments on the fifth pair of nerves. Excision of large tumor from axilla. 1839.

31. Same. Civiale at Necker Hospital—lithotrity, also by Le Roy and Amusat. Lisfranc at La Pitie. Roux at Hotel Dieu, successor to Dupuytren. Met also Sickel, Alibert and Trousseau.

32. Extraction of a Tailor's Thimble Impacted from the right posterior nares. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*,

34. Successful Operation for Strangulated Hernia under Peculiar Circumstances—Sloughing of the Caecum—patient recovered. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, Volume XXVII, page 263, 1841.

35. Lithotomy—Bilateral Operation with cases. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, Volume XXXIII, page 504, 1844.

36. Bilateral Operation of Lithotomy. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845.

37. Notice of the death of Dr. Forry, editor of the *New York Journal of Medicine*. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845.

38. A Lecture on Mesmerism, Delivered by Request of the Class in the Medical College of Georgia. (Denying its Availability in Surgery.) *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845. Reprinted in the *New Orleans Medical Journal*, Volume I, page 594.

39. Review of the *Gazette Medicale de Paris*, *Journal des Connaissances Medico-Chirurgicales*, and *Bulletin General de Therapeutique Medicale et Chirurgicale*. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845.

40. Bibliographical Notice of the First Lines of the Theory and Practice of Surgery, etc., by Samuel Cooper, Senior Surgeon University College Hospital, London. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845.

41. The Principles of Surgery. By James Miller, F. R. I., etc. Professor Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, etc. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845.

42. Reply to Professor Dugas on the Subject of Mesmerism. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845.

43. A Case of Hydrocele twenty-three and a half inches in circumference and containing thirty-seven ounces of serum.

45. Case of Acute Traumatic Tetanus Treated with Cannabis Indica (Indian Hemp) unsuccessfully. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845.

46. Treatment of Tertiary Symptoms of Syphilis by Hydriodate of Potash, with cases. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1845.

47. Gunshot Wound—patient shot at ten paces had nineteen buckshot lodged in his person, yet survived eleven days. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

48. An Account of Lithotrity and Lithotripsy in the United States, with a successful case. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

49. Strangulated Inguinal Hernia of a large portion of the Omentum Relieved by an Operation. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

50. Review and Notice of New Elements of Operative Surgery. By Alf. A. L. M. Velpeau, Prof., etc. With Additions by Dr. Mott. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

51. Remarks on the Statistics of Amputation, with fourteen consecutively successful amputations of the inferior extremity and fifty-one in general, without losing a case. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

52. Cases of Foreign Bodies in the Air Passages: Watermelon seed ejected by exciting a paroxysm of coughing; half-dime, in the larynx removed by inversion of the body and exciting cough; watermelon seed in the larynx, child two years old—laryngotomy was performed successfully. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

53. Successful Removal of a Portion of Bone, probably of the Pubis, with a large calculous mass, from the Female Bladder. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

54. Fracture of Cranium with loss of Brain—Recovery. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

55. A Case of Probable Absence of the Uterus. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1846.

56. A Fatal Case of Mechanical Obstruction in the Intestines above a Reducible Hernia, with Post-Mortem Appearances. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

57. Insensibility During Surgical Operation Produced by Inhalation. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

58. Gunshot Wound (bird shot), Carrying away a Portion of the right Clavicle and Passing Through the Summit of the right Lung and Scapula—Patient recovered. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

59. New Prescription for Burns and Blisters. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

60. Amputation of the Forearm, Lacerated by Machinery in motion—Death of patient. (This was Dr. Eve's first fatal case in fifty-four amputations.) *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

61. Gunshot Wound; Portion of Clavicle Carried away and the Buckshot passed through lungs and scapula, with remarks. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

62. Insensibility to Pain from Inhalation of Sulphuric Ether in Surgical Operations. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

63. Inhalation of Sulphuric Ether in Surgical Operations. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

64. Notice of the Medical and Surgical Reports from the Army in Mexico. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

65. Milk a Purgative. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

66. Review of T. Wharton Jones' Principles and Practice of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

67. Remarks on the Monthly Report of the Sick and Wounded of the Army in Mexico, for the month of February, 1847. (Battle of Buena Vista included.) By C. M. Hitchcock, M.D., Medical Director. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

68. Remarks on Becoming Sole Editor of the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

Our Only Quarterly. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

71. Letter from Paris by the Editor, August, 1847. Case of Epilepsy; case of Extra-Uterine Conception, issue established through the abdomen, death; Aneurism at Bend of the Elbow: patient never having been bled, a puncture revealing its true character, ligature to brachial artery by Velpeau, tumor diminished.

72. Review of the *London Lancet*. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

73. Adulterations on Medicine. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

74. Obituary Notice of Dr. James A. Washington, of New York City, an Intimate Friend and Associate while students in Paris. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1847.

75. Gallantry of the Medical Staff, U. S. A. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

76. The Nature of General Shields' Wound. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

77. Medical Intelligence—La Grippe, Cholera, Chloroform. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

78. Reduction of the Dislocated Ulna and Radius backwards, more than seven months, but fracturing the olecranon process: with good use of limb. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

79. La Grippe, Cholera and Chloroform, the Engrossing Medical Subjects in Europe. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

80. The Protective Influence of Vaccination. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

81. Death of the Great Prussian Surgeon, Dieffenbach. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

82. Exsection of four and a half inches of the Clavicle, including one of its articulations—Recovery. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

83. Chloroform, the Great Discovery and Blessing of the Age: with report of Eight Cases. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

84. Lithotomy Under the Influence of Chloroform; reported by Dr. Eve's Student, Dr. John D. Twiggs. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

85. Notice of Chelius' System of Surgery. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

86. Remarks on Chloroform Applied to Obstetrics as well as in Surgery in Augusta, Ga. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

87. Notice of the death of Dr. Harden, of Liberty County, Georgia. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

88. Unsuccessful Cases in Surgery—Amputation of the Penis, Comminuted Fracture of the Patella, Failure to Ligate the Femoral artery for diffuse aneurism, Trephining the Antrum of Highmore, Failure of a plastic operation for Cancerous Mamma, and Removal of a Fibrous Tumor weighing over five pounds from the thigh. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

89. Collodion a Substitute for Adhesive Plaster. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

90. Another Operation of Lithotomy Under Chloroform. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

91. Report, with Comments, of the First Annual Meeting of the American Medical Association. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

92. Gunshot Wound, pistol ball, opening the Gravid Uterus; death in twenty hours. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

93. Reply to Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes' Letter Respecting National Medical Literature. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

94. Reply to Dr. Green's Diagnosis of Aneurism. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

95. Bibliographical Notice of Principles and Practice of Surgery, by the late George McClelland, M.D. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.* 1848.

98. Comments on Dr. Green's Letter Relative to Article on the Diagnosis of Aneurism. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

99. Successful Amputation at the Shoulder Joint for Gun-shot Wound; Patient Under Chloroform. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

100. Comments on the Position of the Medical Examiner on Sectional Medicine. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

101. Operations on the jaws, with the results in fourteen cases. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1848.

102. Report of the First Day's Clinic in the Medical College of Georgia—Exsection of a large gland from the axilla; Excision of a congenital tumor from the hand; Application of the actual cautery to callous ulcer of leg of five years duration; Relief to urethral stricture. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

103. Review of Transactions of the American Medical Association for 1848. (Two articles.) *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

104. Death from a Foreign Body (bone), cutting from the Pharynx into the Larynx. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

105. Lithotomy—One hundred and seventeen calculi weighing four and a half ounces successfully removed. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

106. Notice of the State Medical Convention of Georgia. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

107. Report of Operations Performed Under Anesthetic Agents, including eleven amputations, four lithotomy cases, six dislocations, four excisions of the mamma, eight other tumors, in all sixty-four cases. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

108. Notice of a Dissertation on the Practice of Medicine by Tomlinson Fort, M.D. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

109. Deaths from the Inhalation of Sulphuric Ether, two cases. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

110. Notice of the Mineral Springs of Georgia. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

111. Notice of a proposed Specific for Cholera—Sulphur. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

112. Removal of a large Polypus from the Nose, through the Pharynx. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

113. Successful Amputation at the Shoulder Joint; it ankylosed. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849. Reprinted in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*. 1849.

114. Notice of the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

115. Lithotomy in Boy ten years old—calculus weighed three ounces, one dram, and measured six, and seven and three-fourths inches in circumference. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

116. Medical Miscellany. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

117. Case of Natural Anesthesia; patient loses life because of it; feeling no pain he would not believe that he had erysipelas. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

118. Farewell as Editor of the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1849.

119. Introductory Lecture on the Present Position of the Medical Profession in Society, delivered in the Medical College of Georgia, November, 1849. Published by the Class. Reviewed in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, Volume XIX. page 471, 1850. Also in the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, Volume VI, page 84, 1850.

120. Report of Surgical Clinic in the Medical College of Georgia for the session 1849-1850. Of forty-eight cases thirty-nine were operated on and not one proved fatal. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1850. Noticed in the *Transactions of the American Medical Association*, Volume 3.

121. A Hydrocele weighing forty ounces; relieved by iodine. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1850.

122. Removal of a large Haematocele from the Spermatic Cord successfully. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1850.

123. Fungus Haematodes, with a Report of twelve cases, three affecting the neck and shoulder, two of the face, two of the trunk, three of the inferior extremity and one of the upper, and one of the mamma. In eight of the twelve cases death occurred within a few months and the remaining four were too recent to decide the result. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1850. Noticed in the *Transactions of the American Medical Society*. 1851.

124. Notice of the Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Science, by John Bachman, D.D., Professor of Natural History in Charleston, S. C. *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1850.

125. Case of Excision of the Uterus. Preceded by Remarks from Professor Charles D. Meigs, M.D. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*. 1850. Also noticed in *Ranking's Abstract of the Medical Sciences*, July to December, 1850. Also *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1850. Also *Transactions of the American Medical Society*. 1850.

126. Report as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Surgery to the American Medical Association for 1851. *Transactions of the Association*. 1851.

127. Introductory Lecture Defining Position with the University of Nashville, Tenn. Published in pamphlet form; also in the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1851.

128. Supposed Wound of the Internal Mammary Artery; recovery. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1851.

129. Notice of Maclise's Surgical Anatomy. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1851.

130. Report of Cases Operated Upon During the Opening Week in the Medical Department of the University of Nashville—Successful Exsection of the Parotid Gland; Removal of a large Polypoid Tumor from the left naris; Ligature to left Brachial artery for false Aneurism and extraction of a piece of glass; Removal of a Fibro-cartilaginous Tumor with the Palatine Process of the Superior Maxillae. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1852.

131. Bilateral Operation in a Girl for Calculus, cutting only

the Internal Portion of the Urethra; patient well in five days. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1852.

132. Report of the Annual Meeting of the Medical Society of Georgia. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1852.

133. Synopsis of Twenty-five Cases of Lithotomy. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1852.

134. Report of Twenty-five Cases of Urinary Calculus, in twenty-three of which the Bilateral Operation was performed. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*. 1852. Also *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1852.

135. Operation by pins and a truss for the radical Cure of Hernia. *Transactions of the American Medical Association*. 1852.

136. Professional Letters from Europe—Published in the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, and afterwards, with additions, in pamphlet form—An Account of Velpeau's Operations at La Charite Hospital, etc.

137. Same—Nelaton's Clinics, Costello's Surgical Encyclopedia, etc.

138. Same—Velpeau's Clinic on Cancer, etc.

139. Record at the Midi Hospital on Syphilis; Traumatic Gangrene, etc.

140. Same—Nelaton on Pott's Disease, Strabismus, etc.

141. Removal of the Crista Galli for Fracture of the Cranium: Patient lived six days. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1852.

142. Letters from Europe. Enlarged edition of the Letters Before Printed Separately, with Additions relating to the Visit to England and Scotland. Nashville. 1852.

143. Dislocation of the Os Humeri on the Dorsum Scapulae: reduction after five weeks. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1853.

144. Synopsis of the Surgical Clinic of the University of Nashville, including aneurisms, cataract, necrosis, fractures, wounds, etc. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1853.

145. Treatment of Strictures of the Urethra by rapid and free Dilation. (Read at the meeting of the Medical Society of

Georgia, April, 1853, at Savannah.) *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1853. Also reprinted in pamphlet form.

146. Notice of Benique's Metallic Bourgies. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1853.

147. Extraction of a Nail from the left Bronchus by Tracheotomy; the patient then five years old, grew to robust manhood. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1853. Also Complimentary Notice in *Philadelphia Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1853.

148. Introductory to the Course of Lectures in the Medical Department of the University of Nashville, on the Claims of Medicine to be Regarded as a Science. November, 1853. Published by the Class. Complimentary Notices by the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* and the *New York Scalpel*.

149-158. Medical Items. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854. (Contributions to ten of the twelve issues of the year.)

159. Letters from Europe. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

160. Unsuccessful Cases in Surgery. Additional to those Published in 1848. Retention of urine from permanent stricture; Relief by a false passage to the bladder and death of patient in eleven days. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

161. Synopsis of Tennessee Medical Society. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

162. The State of the Pupil in Cataract. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

163. Abstract of the Proceedings of the American Medical Association held in St. Louis, Mo. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

164. Contributions to the History of Surgery in Tennessee. A paper read before the Tennessee Medical Society in April, 1854. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854. (Embracing cases coming under Dr. Eve's own notice, some of which have been treated in articles before mentioned.)

165. Notice of The Science and Art of Surgery, by John Erichsen, Professor of Surgery in University College, etc. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

166. Account of a Child's Cranium thirty-four inches in circumference, from ear to ear over the vortex twenty-nine and a half inches, and in whose skull there are over four hundred ossawormiana, or accessory bones; the patient never walked, though he lived sixteen years. Specimen deposited in the college museum. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

167. Notice of an Attempt at Lithotomy in London and failure to open the Bladder. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

168. Epidemic (yellow fever) in Savannah, and Honor to the Medical Profession by unacclimated professional gentlemen. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

169. Comments on Dr. Dudley's Rebuke of a Pretended Cancer Cure. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

170. Surgical Clinic for October, 1854, embracing numerous cases of interest. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

171. Reorganizing the Philadelphia College of Medicine. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

172. Report of the Surgical Clinic of the first week of the preliminary course in Nashville University. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1854.

173. Practical Observations on the Operation of Lithotomy of John Crichton. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1855.

174. A Dictionary of Medical Terminology, Dental Surgery and the Collateral Sciences. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1855.

175. Proposed Convention of the Medical Colleges. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1855.

176 to 187. Medical Items. Contributions to every number of the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* issued during

be published.) *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

189. The Use of Arsenic by Cancer Doctors. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

190. Professional Remuneration. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

191. Valedictory to the Graduating Class of 1855 on the subject that Public Opinion being Unenlightened in Medicine, Physicians should not be Influenced by it. Published by the Faculty and Class, in pamphlet.

192. A Calculus weighing only eight grains removed by the Lateral Operation. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

193. Calculus weighing six hundred grains removed by the high (supre-pubic) operation; patient well in three weeks. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

194. Foreign Body, grain of corn, in right Bronchus, Ejected in a Paroxysm of Coughing. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

195. Notice of the *Virginia Medical and Surgical Journal.* *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

196. Notice of Surgical Reports and Miscellaneous Papers on Medical Subjects, by George Hayward, M.D., President Massachusetts Medical Society. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

197. Notice of the *American Journal of Pharmacy.* *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

198. Successful Operation for a Fractured Rib. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

199. Remarks on Dr. Hayward's Article on Deaths from Sulphuric Ether. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

200. Surgical Clinic for the First Week of the Session of 1855-56 in the University of Nashville. (Embracing numerous interesting operations.) *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery.* 1855.

201. Obituary Notice of the First Medical Student, John W.

Pettus, who died in the University of Nashville. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1855.

202. Removal of a Cockle Burr from the Glottis with Forceps. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1856.

203. Removal of a Fish Bone from the Duct of Steno. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1856.

204 to 214. Medical Items. Contributions on Various Subjects to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* during 1856.

215. Notice of the Proceedings of the Medical Society of Georgia. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1856.

216. Notice of the Meeting of the American Medical Association at Detroit. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1856.

217. Notice of the Death of Professor John C. Warren, M.D. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1856.

218. History of the Ligature Applied to the Arteria Innominate. (Read before the Tennessee State Medical Society.) *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1856. Also noticed in the *Philadelphia Medical Examiner*. 1856. Also in *Ranking's Abstract of the Medical Sciences* for 1856.

219. Dr. Robert Lee's Opinion of Ovariectomy. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1856.

220. Aneurism of the Femoral Artery Cured by Compression. Reported by E. E. Finney, M.D. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*.

221. The Clerical versus the Medical Profession. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1856.

222. Remarkable Cases in Surgery. Published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. 8vo. Pp. 858. 1857. Noticed favorably in the Nashville and Richmond medical journals. Dr. Palmer in his report on Medical Literature to the American Medical Association states that it reflected much credit upon the researches and industry of the author. The *Charleston Medical and Surgical Journal* gave a favorable notice of the work, saying that it "richly deserves what it will doubtless have, an extensive circulation."

223. Report of Clinic for the First Month of the Session of 1856-7 in the Medical Department of the University of Nashville. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

224. Notice of the Oldest Medical Journal in the South. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

225. Notice of the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

226. Report as Dean of the Medical Faculty to the Trustees of the Medical Department of the University of Nashville. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

227 to 237. Medical Items. Contributions to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* during the year 1857 under the title given.

238. Did Congressman Brooks Die of Croup? *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

239. Report of the Proceedings of the Medical Society of Tennessee. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

240. Address on Being Elected President of the American Medical Association. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857. Also in the *Transactions of the American Medical Association*.

241. Transactions of the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Tennessee State Medical Society. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

242. Statistical Report of Forty-six Operations for Stone in the Bladder. Read before Tennessee State Medical Society. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857. Reprinted in the *North American Medico-Chirurgical Review*, July, 1858. Also in *Ranking's Abstract of the Medical Sciences*, July and December numbers, 1858.

243. Priority of Claim between Sir Marshall Hall and Professor Henry F. Campbell, M.D., of Augusta, Ga., of the Excitatory System—in which the noted Englishman says to the latter "it is indisputably yours." *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

244. Removal of a Piece of Tin by Laryngo-Tracheotomy. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857. Reprinted in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, 1858.

245. Rebuke to Mrs. Crawford for Denouncing Professors Velpreau, Nelaton, Desmarres, Sichel, Sir William Lawrence and Professor Gibson for not curing her husband. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

246. Popular Ignorance in Regard to Anatomy. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1857.

247. Reply to the Editors of the *American Medical Monthly*, charging me with injustice to Dr. Mott and Dr. Carnochan in my Collection of Remarkable Cases of Surgery. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858. Reprinted in the *American Medical Monthly*. 1858.

248. Bilateral Operation for Stone—death. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

249. Account of a Patient Killed by a Fencing Foil Penetrating the Orbital Plate of the Os Frontis. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

250. Report as Dean of the Faculty for 1857-58. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

251. Account of a Patient who Swallowed a Set of Artificial Teeth. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

252. Report of Transactions of the Tennessee State Medical Society. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

253. Report of Cases to the State Society. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

254. Address Before the American Medical Association, 1858. Published in the *Transactions*; also in the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

255. Clinical Surgical Report for the First Month's Service in the State Hospital. Embracing operations on sixty-three patients. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

256. Amputation Repeated for the Third Time. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

257. Abdominal Tumor in a Girl of Eighteen Years. Together with Other Interesting Surgical Cases. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

259. Lateral Operation—Death from Facial Erysipelas on the Twelfth day; loose gravel with Calcareous Deposit, some as large as buckshot, no calculus having been removed. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1858.

260. Lithotomy under Unfavorable Circumstances; hemorrhage secondary; death on the Eighteenth Day. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1859.

261. Case of Lithotomy; Three Calculi of Unusual Size and Shape. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1859.

262. Biographical Notice of Professor George M. Newton, M.D., of Augusta, Ga. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1859.

263. Straightening a Limb by Brainard's Method—Drilling the Bone. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1859.

264. Outlines of a Lecture on Irritation. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1859.

265. Outlines of a Lecture on Inflammation. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1859.

266. Letters from Europe. Second Series. Published in the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1859. Passage Across the Atlantic, etc.

267. Same. Paris.

268. Same. Paris, continued.

269. Same. Paris, continued.

270. Same. Paris, concluded.

271. Same. Turin, etc.

272. Same. Solferino and the Hospitals of Milan.

273. Same. Paris, Hotel Dieu, etc.

274. Same. Paris.

275. Same. London, its Hospitals, etc.

276. Successful Removal of a Bleeding Tumor from the Inferior Lip of an Infant by the Ecraseur. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1859.

277. An Aneurism Congenital Involving the Right Side of the Face and Head; Several Operations, Including Ligature to the Carotid. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1860.

278. Comments on a Letter from Dr. Mettsuer on the Above Case. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1860.

279. A Suggestion by a Screw Clamp to Close Vesico-Vaginal Fistula. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1860.

280. Lithotomy in a Girl Four Years Old; Calculus Measured Five Inches in Circumference, and weighed one Ounce. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1860.

281. Decapitatio Humeri for Gunshot Wound. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1860.

282. A Canula Needle for Sutures. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1860.

283. Staphyloraphy, Successful; the First Attempt with the Curved Canula Needle. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1860.

284. Surgical Clinic for October, 1860, thirty cases, twenty-three operations; no deaths. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1861.

285. Instrument Designed to Arrest Hemorrhage after Lithotomy. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1861.

286. Health in the Camp. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1861.

287. Supposed Wound of the Femoral Artery, Relieved by Bandage. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1861.

288. Gunshot Wound of the Popliteal Artery; Aneurism; Ligature to Femoral; Amputation; Patient Saved. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1861.

289. Removal of a Large Glass Bead by Tracheotomy. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1861.

290. Position of the Hand in Fractures of the Forearm. *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal*, Richmond, Va. 1864.

291. Report of Eighteen Cases of Lithotomy, Operations Performed During the Past Four years. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, April, 1866.

292. Report of Eighteen Cases of Lithotomy Performed Dur-

States Sanitary Commission. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1866.

294. Mortality of Cholera in Nashville. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1866.

295 to 300. Monthly Medical Excerpta. Contributions monthly to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1866.

301. Reply to the Question: What Effect had Whiskey and Tobacco on the Physical Endurance and Health of the Soldiers in the Southern Army? *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1866.

302. Introductory Lecture to the Class, session of 1866-67, on Hygiene. Published in pamphlet form.

303. Removal of a Large Cauliflower Excrescence by the Ecraseur. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1866.

304. Surgical Clinic for the Third Week of November, 1866. Reported by a Student. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1866.

305. Surgical Clinic for the 6th and 8th of December, 1866. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1866.

306. Lecture on Extroversion of the Bladder. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867.

307 to 310. Medical Excerpta. Contributions to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* during 1867.

311. Fracture of the Patella Treated by a Ring. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867.

312. Seven Cases of Gunshot Wounds. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867.

313. Report of the Medical Department of the University of Nashville for the Session of 1866-67. (About one hundred operations had been performed, including five for stone, six amputations, etc.) *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867.

314. Report of Seven Operations for Stone in thirty-three days, all successful. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867.

315. Statistics of Ninety Operations for Urinary Calculus, seventy-eight Bilateral, three Lateral, three Lithotritry, two High, two Vaginal Sections, one Urethral, and one Dilation. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867.

316 and 317. European Letters. Third Series. From Paris and London, respectively. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867.

318. Notice of the Death of Velpeau. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867.

319. Gunshot Wound in the Perineal and Gluteal Regions, Followed by Urinary Fistula; Closed by Urethotomy. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1867. Reprinted in the *Half-Yearly Compendium of the Medical Sciences*. 1867.

320. Account of an Infant, J. Myrtle Corban, of Tennessee, having Four Legs, two Distinct External Female Organs of Generation, etc. Prepared by Professor Joseph Jones, M.D., and Dr. Eve. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1868.

321. Contributions to the Hip Joint Operations Performed in the Confederate Service During the Civil War. (Twenty amputations and thirteen resections at the joint.) *Transactions of the American Medical Association*. 1867. Noticed in the *Hébdomidaire Médicale et Chirurgie*, October, 1868. Also in the *Half-Yearly Compendium of the Medical Sciences*. 1868.

322. Report of Three Cases of Gunshot Wound in Which the Ball Lodged in the Vertebral Column, two patients still living; with Remarks on the Division of the Spinal Cord without Death. Prepared by Appointment and Read Before the Tennessee Medical Society, and Ordered Published. *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*. 1868.

323. Gunshot Wound Resulting Fatally Forty-four Years After its Infliction. *St. Louis Medical Reporter*. 1868.

324. Extensive Colloid Cancer in the Abdomen. *New Orleans Journal of Medicine*. 1868.

325. Severe Case of Trichiasis. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1868.

326. The Siamese Twins: Can They be Safely Separated?

328. Account of Three Cases Taken from the Caisson of the Bridge at St. Louis. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1868.

329. Reply to the Review of Dr. Eve's Contributions to the Hip Joint Operations During the Late War. *Buffalo Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1868.

330. Introductory Lecture in the Missouri Medical College at St. Louis, October, 1868.

331. Reply to Dr. Otis' Rejoinder on the Hip Joint Operations. *Buffalo Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1868.

332. Safe and Effectual Operation for the Radical Cure of Varicocele. *Transactions of the American Medical Association*. 1868. Reprinted in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*. 1869. Also in the *Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences*. 1869.

333. Canula Needle for Applying Ligatures and Sutures. *Transactions of the American Medical Association*. 1869.

334. The Sutures for Vesico-Vaginal Fistula Inserted by Means of a Canula Needle, with a case. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1869.

335. Violent Case of Sporadic Cholera; Death in About Eighteen Hours. Notwithstanding Heroic Treatment. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1869.

336. Dislocation of the Thumb Backwards; Reduction. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1869.

337. Report of Tennessee State Medical Society, Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1869.

338. Account of a Family with Wens. *St. Louis Medical Reporter*. 1869.

339. Large Enchondroma of the Metacarpus. *St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal*. 1869.

340. Introductory Lecture in the Missouri Medical College on Some of the Many Popular Errors in Medicine. *St. Louis Medical Archives*, October, 1869. Also noticed in the *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1870.

341. Case of Popliteal Aneurism Cured by Digital Compres-

sion and Dupuytren's Compressor. Reported to the St. Louis Medical Society. *St. Louis Medical Archives*. 1870.

342. The Unusual Dislocation of the Head of the Humerus with Rupture of the Long Tendon of the Biceps Muscle. Read before the St. Louis Medical Society. *St. Louis Medical Archives*. 1870.

343. A case of Scleriosis of Left Parietal Bone after Gunshot Wound. Read before the St. Louis Medical Society. *St. Louis Medical Archives*. 1870.

344. Gunshot Wounds of the Brain, Portion of the Ball Found Seven Years Afterwards on the Tentorium Cerebelli. Read before the Tennessee State Medical Society, April, 1867. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1870.

345. A New Suture in Blepharoplastis. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1870. Reprinted in *Half-Yearly Compendium of Medical Sciences*, July, 1870.

346. Most Remarkable Case of Gunshot Wound, in which a Disk of Bone was Found Within the Cranium, but no Ball. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1870.

347. An Apparently Black Urinary Calculus. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1870.

348. Eulogy of Baron Dupuytren, Translated, with Reminiscences. Read by President Manlove before the Tennessee State Medical Society, April, 1870. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1870.

349. Researches on Lumbar Hernia. Translated from Baron H. Larvey, Surgeon to the French Emperor, etc. Read to the St. Louis Medical Society, May, 1870. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1870.

350. Contributions to Surgery for 1869. Read before the St. Louis Medical Society, April, 1870. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1870.

351. One Dressing after Operation for Fistula in Ano. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1870.

352 to 357. Surgical Extracts. Contributions to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1870.

358 to 365. Surgical Extracts. Contributions to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* during 1871.

366 to 370. Medical Extracts. Contributions to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* during 1871.

371. Wound of the Peritoneum from a Stab; Successfully Treated. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1871.

372. Exsection of the Clavicle; Death on the Sixth Day. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1871.

373. Extensive Fracture at the Base of the Cranium by a Fall Down a Common Stairway, with Post-Mortem Appearances. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1871.

374. Address before the Tennessee State Medical Society on Being Elected President of the Society at the meeting in Pulaski, April, 1871. (In Proceedings.)

375. Valedictory of the Graduating Class of 1871 on the Word Energy. (Unpublished.)

376. Amputation at the Hip Joint Complicated by Complete Anchylosis; Death in Twenty-five Hours. Read before the State Medical Society. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1871. Also *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1871.

377. Successful Application of the Trephine over the Right Lateral Sinus of the Brain. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1871.

378. Synopsis and Analysis of One Hundred Cases of Lithotomy, Lithotrity, etc. Of these six died from the effects of the operation, and five from intercurrent disease or unusual events. *Transactions of American Medical Association*. 1871. Reprinted or noticed in several professional journals.

379. Case of Extroversion of the Female Organs—Complete of the Womb, partial of the Vagina, with Cystocele and Rectocele; Operations and Restoration of the Prolapsed Parts. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1871.

380. Notice of Surgical Cases Treated in the Army of the United States from 1865 to 1871. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1872.

381. Obituary of the Distinguished Professional Dead—Par-

ticularly Dr. Samuel Dickson. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1872.

382 to 393. Surgical Extracts. Contributions to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery* during the year 1872.

394. The Proper Definition of the Word "Cure" as Applied to Medicine. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1872.

395. Fracture of the Three Bicuspid Teeth Longitudinally by Contrecoup. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1872.

396. Remarks on the Case (the only one on record) of Dr. Smythe's Successful Application of Ligature to the Innominate Artery. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1872.

397. Annual Address as President of the Tennessee State Medical Society, April, 1872. Being an Historical Sketch of that body from its organization. Referred to Committee on Publication. Supplement in *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1872.

398. Notice of a Collection of Remarkable Cases in Surgery. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1872.

399. The Inhumanity of Capital Punishment by Hanging. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1872.

400. Wiring the Clavicle for Fracture, with a Case. *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. 1872. Also in *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1872.

401. The Entire Penis Denuded and Nearly Half of the Scrotum Cut off in Circumcision. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1872.

402. Successful Application of the Trephine Over the Right Lateral Sinus of the Brain. In pamphlet form. Also reprinted in the *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1872.

403. Removal of a Calculous Mass Deposited on a Piece of Bourgie by Lithotomy. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1873. Also issued in pamphlet form.

404. to 408. Surgical Extracts. Contributions during the year 1873 to the *Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery*.

409, 410. Contributions during 1873 to the *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*.

From the steamship Egypt. Advantages of the Sea Air to Health.

412. Same. From London. The Hospitals.

413. Same. From Vienna. Noted professional gentlemen met in that city.

414. Same. From Paris. Notable operations.

415. Same. From Paris. Notable operations.

416. From Edinburgh. Lister's Dressings in Surgery.

417. Groove versus Canula Needle for Suture. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1874.

418. Contributions to the January number of the *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1874.

419. Transactions of the Medical Society of West Virginia—Comment on the Common Canula Needle with the Long Handle Added by Dr. Eve as All that is Needed in Such an Instrument. 1874.

420. Amputation of the Thigh by Professor Esmarch's Bloodless Operation. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1874.

421. Dr. Esmarch's Bloodless Operation, with Cases. Prepared for and read before the Tennessee State Medical Society, April 7, 1874. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1874.

422. Annual Address Before the Tennessee State Medical Society, April, 1872; being a Synopsis of its History. Published by request of the society in pamphlet form. 1874.

423. Gunshot Wound Over the Left Frontal Sinus, Fracturing the Cranium, etc., Followed by Epilepsy; Death a Week after Trephining. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*. 1874.

424. A Suggestion to Benefit both Patient and Physician. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*, June, 1874.

425. What the Southwest has Done for Surgery. Paper presented to the American Medical Association at its meeting in May, 1874. Published in the *Transactions*. Also in the *American Medical Weekly*, 1874. Also republished in the *Virginia Medical Monthly* for August, 1874.

426. Loss of an Arm from Cellulitis, or Rather from Dermato-Cellulitis. *American Medical Weekly*. 1874.

427. Biographical Sketch of Professor Thomas Reed Jennings. *American Medical Weekly*. 1874.

428. Preparing Professor Esmarch's Report on Surgery, with Dr. Sandek's assistance, at the Third Annual Meeting of the German Surgeons, with Remarks. *American Medical Weekly*. 1874.

429. Surgery of the West and South. *American Medical Weekly*. 1874.

430. Notice of Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Physicians of the West and Southwest. *American Medical Weekly*. 1874.

431. Notice of Professor Esmarch's Bloodless Operation. *American Medical Weekly*, August 1, 1874.

432. Gunshot Wound of Knee Joint Cured by Prolonged Warm Baths. *American Medical Weekly*, April, 1875.

433. Malignant Disease of the Bladder; Operation; Death. *American Medical Weekly*, November, 1875.

434. Sclerosis with Eburnation or Exostosis of Humerus: Death in the Attempt to Amputate Above the Shoulder Joint, from Hemorrhage. *American Medical Weekly*, July, 1875.

435. Review of Cooper's Dictionary of Practical Surgery and Encyclopedia of Surgical Science. *Richmond and Louisville Medical Journal*, May, 1875. Also reprinted in pamphlet form.

436. Address on the History and Achievements of Surgery in the South and Southwest. Delivered before the International Medical Congress at Philadelphia, September 6, 1876. Published in the volume of proceedings of the congress.

MRS. ANNE ROYALL.

BY W. E. BEARD.

The reproduction of the historic home of Andrew Jackson as Tennessee's building at the St. Louis World's Fair will undoubtedly recall to the mind of many visitors there the days of Old Hickory when the Volunteer State was at the zenith of its political glory—a period as prolific of stalwart public men as any other in the country's history and also productive of Mistress Anne Royall, one of the most extraordinary individuals in the political traditions of the nation.

That Mistress Anne should have achieved a reputation of national proportions in such a period is evidence of the force of her individuality, but does not even suggest the life story of unusual interest, the first event of which occurred in her infancy, when she was stolen by Indians, and whose denouncement was before the bar of the Circuit Court at Washington, where Judge William Cranch, adjudged her guilty of being a common scold and decreed that she be ducked though she was let off with a fine. This, however, did not come to pass before Mrs. Royall's pen had become of more terror to Congressmen and office holders of Washington than was Davy Crockett's rifle to the bears of West Tennessee and Mississippi.

It was during the administrations of Jackson that Mrs. Royall became most conspicuous and it was during his first term in the White House that she paid her visit to Nashville that was memorable for the reason that she took offense at being ignored by the Nashville newspapers while here and at not being called on by Senator Felix Grundy, Congressman John Bell and by the Mayor of the town.

The biographers of Anne Royall give Virginia as the place of her nativity, though she herself claimed the distinction for Maryland, and the date of her birth as June 11, 1764. Fifteen years of her infancy and girlhood were spent among the Indians who had stolen her. She married Captain Royall, who had fought

in the Revolution, and became a resident of Alabama, where she learned to read and write. She was past middle life when she found her calling and shied her castor into public affairs at Washington.

Securing an old fashioned press and a font of battered type she went to work with an energy not surpassed by even her eccentricity. From her modest establishment on Capitol Hill she issued a small weekly called the *Washington Paul Pry*, and afterwards the *Huntress*. Tradition says she wrote the copy, set the type, worked the press and delivered the papers herself. She wrote several books among which were a series significantly named the "Black Books." John Quincy Adams described her as going about "like a virago-errant in enchanted armor, redeeming herself from the cramps of indigence by the notoriety of her eccentricities and the forced currency they gave her publications." In traditions of Washington she is depicted as an attenuated person, of long, sour features and garbed in an outlandish fashion. Her unusual attire and queer headgear in the early days of her residence in Washington attracted a train of small boy followers. In answer to their merrymaking at her expense on one occasion, it is related, she stopped, took off her shoe and hurled it at the head of the nearest offender. This incident may be purely legendary, but that she was equal to it, one can readily believe. Writing of herself in 1827, in a letter to the *Gazette*, of Little Rock, Arkansas, she said: "I am a little old woman, with a very keen pen (it is said), 'fearless character and frank manners.' I am the widow of a Revolutionary hero, who left me independent, but was stript of my all by villains, and had no resource at my advanced age, (then fifty), but to take up my pen and have received the patronage of Presidents, Governors, Generals, Judges and statesmen, and without one cent of money or one change of raiment when I sat out, I have done this."

to take care of herself and ever ready to put her lance in rest and have a sharp tilt with any of the stalwarts of her day, who offended her, or possibly who failed to buy her books. She traveled everywhere and interviewed all notables, Joseph Bonaparte being among the number. In New York she invaded all the newspaper offices on one of her visits and on being received with scant courtesy by Chas. King, of the *New York American* she retaliated by putting him in her Black Book, roasting him with modern newspaper aptitude. In Boston she called on Jared Sparks, editor of the *North American Review*, and inquired why he had never noticed her books. "Ah," said he, with his softest smile, "you know, Mrs. Royall, I was afraid of you."

Mrs. Royall in her "Sketches" by eulogizing DeWitt Clinton, incurred the animosity of the Bucktails, which found vent, according to her report, in no very genteel fashion. In consequence she waited upon Martin Van Buren, the leader of the opposition to Clinton, in Albany to discover the cause of the ill feeling. She chronicled the interview with womanly attention to detail. She wrote of it: "It was on this my second visit to Albany that I became acquainted with the Hon. M. Van Buren, the head of the opposition in the State of New York. It is understood that the state is divided into Clintonians and Bucktails. Finding myself assailed, not very genteely, by these selfsame Bucktails, I sat myself to learn the nature of those distinctions and how I came to incur their displeasure in the publication of my book, which, it appeared, gave offense. I was much surprised to find that my 'Sketches' should have made no enemies, but those Bucktails; and the more so as my book was an impartial representation of men and things, without regard to parties, of which I might well be supposed to be totally ignorant. Upon inquiry, I found that the Bucktails were opposed to Clinton, and the description I gave of him in the travels or sketches, displeased them. As my remarks on Governor Clinton were confined to an unequivocal description of his person, I was naturally led to suspect that envy must be at the bottom of the case; and being told that Mr. Van Buren was at the head of the party and withal a very gentle-

manly man, I waited on him to come to a further understanding on the subject. He received me very politely indeed; and after our greeting, I informed him of the hostility of his party toward my book; and as none of them seemed to understand the meaning of the word Bucktail, I was come to him for an explanation. With the greatest good humor in the world he explained the meaning and rise of the term, their political tenets and the cause of their dislike to Clinton. The Bucktails, as he stated, were the old Republican party, and were called Bucktails from the Tammany Society. St. Tammany, of Indian race, gave rise to the society, who on certain days, such as anniversaries wore bucktails in their hats. From the word old, I asked if there were any new Republicans? I thought Mr. Van Buren seemed at a loss and at length he said that those who opposed the Bucktails were generally esteemed Federalists; (meaning the Clintonians).

"'Well, but why,' said I, 'should any man in New York dislike Clinton, as he has proved himself the greatest friend to the State of any other man?'"

"He admitted that Clinton was a man of talents, and seemed to regret that the Bucktails had treated me with disrespect.

"Mr. Van Buren is quite a young man, of middling height, and slight make; his countenance open and benevolent; in his manner he is affable and very pleasing; he is said to be a gentleman of learning and uncommon talents. Since my interview with him, I have understood, that amongst the Bucktails, (the opposition to Clinton), are to be found Federalists as well as Republicans, and the same of the other party; and in fact if I were to judge of them by what I saw myself, I would say that many of them do not know what they are, and that their opposition to Clinton is merely the effect of envy. I do not, however, think so of Van Buren, as his talents must place him above reproach."

Those of the present generation of Masonic connection will remember with keen interest the fireside stories of youthful days of the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan at the hands of the order, for revealing its secrets, the stories ran. It was during these times that the excitement over the disap-

pearance of the man rose to the dignity of a political issue and the papers of the day teemed with the subject. It did not escape the notice of Mrs. Anne Royall. Her opinion upon the subject is interesting, though it can hardly be considered in the way of expert testimony. Despite the fact that she was a woman and opposition to secret orders in which they may not participate is supposed to be innate in womankind, Mrs. Royall speaks of the Masons in the very highest terms. What Mrs. Royall had to say was as follows:

"Apropos, speaking of the Masons, my opinion has often been asked of the Morgan affair. Since the public is pleased to honor me so far, I say that I believe the Morgan affair is a vile speculation to make money, and not only to make money but further designed as a political engine. The story, like the Juggernaut, operates upon the weak and ignorant; and the crafty and designing use it to their advantage. If Morgan was murdered, what of it? How many men are murdered daily without ascertaining by whom! You cannot open a newspaper but you find a late murder. If the same fuss was made about every man murdered, of which no account can be given, it would exclude everything from the papers; the presses would fail. Why is Morgan, if he be murdered, more than any other man? If he be murdered, it was a wicked deed, and why not hang the murderer, if he can be found, and say no more about it than other murders? But, say they, Morgan is certainly murdered, but we cannot find his body, or the murderer; nor can we obtain positive proof who was the murderer. Then, how can you say he is certainly murdered? The face of the thing proves its absurdity. Will any sober man say that, taking into view the number engaged in this farce, bitter and enraged as they pretend to be, with every civil officer in the United States at their service, if they thought proper to call on them, they could not in all this time detect the murderer? But there were more than one murderer—then it is the easier detected. If the murderers cannot be found, it proves either that there are none to find, or that you have not done your duty in searching for him. This Morgan story is exactly like the witches of Salem; and nothing keeps those fanatics from cutting the

throats of every Mason in New York, but the laws; it is not their goodness keeps them from it. This Morgan plan is a match for the missionary scheme to raise money; and like them, they are now aiming at power. But the Masons—they are heretics too. Was not General Washington a good man? He was a Mason. Was not General La Fayette a good man? He was a Mason. Was not Doctor Franklin a good man? He was a Mason. Was not DeWitt Clinton a good man? He was a Mason. These are enough. Now all these are not only the best, but the greatest men in the world.

"These silly men might as well attempt to pluck the sun and moon out of the heavens, as to destroy Masonry, as old as the deluge. And to give my opinion of it in a few words, if it were not for Masonry, the world would have become a herd of savages. Like the fire on the altar, they are the only class of men that have preserved charity and benevolence alive; that sacred spark which came down from heaven, has been preserved by Masons. What more it consists of, I know not, (for I have never looked in Morgan); this was enough, and more than any other human institution can boast. Masonry can boast of the best men, and best Christians, since the world began. My husband, well known to have been one of the most respectable men, and descended from one of the most respectable families in America, uniformly told me, it was the greatest institution in the world, and that if I should ever happen to be in distress, to call on them. This I have found to be true; when Christians, so called, the godly missionaries, shut their doors on me, the Masons opened theirs."

It was in July, 1830, that Mrs. Royall paid her respects to Nashville being in the Southwest then gathering material for another Black Book, and she got it. At that time Nashville was a place of no small importance in the Southwest and supported two papers. one edited by Allen A. Hall, who later be-

in the interval, Dr. Nye was occupying the *Republican's* tripod. Commenting on the omission she said, "As for Mr. Hunt I saw at once he was bought up; but the *Republican*, I expected, would have more independence, yet to my astonishment Dr. Nye, who edits the paper in Hall's absence, came to my room the evening before his paper came out and said: 'I have been so unwell this week I have not been able to write any editorial article.' I saw through him, and handing him a dollar, requested him to say, 'Mrs. Royal is in Nashville:' that my friends might know where I was. He refused. Doubtless he got more on the other side." The editors subsequent to Mrs. Royall's departure for Cincinnati and Louisville did chronicle her visit as Dr. Nye had promised at the time of the tender of the dollar when he observed, "we are not in the habit of flattering people to their faces," reserving the good things the paper had to say until her departure.

In high dudgeon, Mrs. Royall took her pen in hand and wrote a letter to the Murfreesboro *Courier*, pronouncing Nashville in the hands of the aristocrats and done for until the aristocracy was put down. She declared the editors bought up and hoped that every honorable man in Tennessee would withdraw his patronage from men who no longer were deserving of support. The letter was a characteristic one, such a philippic as tradition says Mistress Anne was wont to pour upon the offending heads of those failing to accord to her the distinction which she felt was her due.

MAJOR GEORGE W. L. MARR.

[Contributed].

"Died—On the 5th inst., Major George W. L. Marr, aged about 75 years. He served and was wounded in the Creek war under General Jackson, and in 1815 was elected to Congress from the Clarksville district. In 1821, he removed to Obion county, where he has ever since lived and several times represented that county in the Legislature."—*Memphis Bulletin*, Septemrber 25, 1856.

This brief notice, of which the above is a copy, is perhaps the only published record of a man of wealth and prominence in his day and deserves reproduction for the purpose of preservation.

Major Marr was probably a native of Virginia, was a relative of the Perkins, Hardeman and other pioneer families of Middle Tennessee. He lived in or near Clarksville in early life, was Attorney-General for West Tennessee, 1807-1809; Attorney-General for the Fifth District, 1809-1813; Representative for the Sixth Tennessee District in the Fifteenth Congress 1817-1819; member of the Constitutional Convention for Weakley and Obion, 1834; Representative for Weakley and Obion in the Tennessee General Assembly, 1845. (*Miller's Manual of Tennessee*).

He died at his residence on Island Number 10 in the Mississippi river, leaving an estate in lands and personalty amounting to over two hundred thousand dollars, the division of which among his children resulted in the noted Marr will case, reported in 5th Sneed. The case was warmly contested and the

peal prayed from the verdict of the jury and the ruling of the trial judge, Hon. William Fitzgerald, the veteran who defeated and was in turn defeated by Davy Crockett for Congress. It is tradition that Hon. J. D. C. Atkins of Paris, a member of the Federal and Confederate Congresses, refused a retainer of \$1,000 to engage in the case, feeling that the offer sprung more from a belief in his popularity and influence with the jury in the case than from his knowledge and skill in the law, which profession he never followed beyond securing license to practice, motives of delicacy suggesting that a lawyer should be prepared to represent his client at every point before engaging himself.

ANNALS OF A SCOTCH-IRISH FAMILY: THE WHITSITTS, OF NASHVILLE, TENN.

BY WILLIAM H. WHITSITT, RICHMOND COLLEGE, RICHMOND, VA.

esse quam videri bonus malebat. Sallust, Catiline, Cap. LIV.

Menees Family of Nashville.—The Nashville pioneer James Menees lived to a great age. He died in Neely's Bend, and his will that had been made on the third of September, 1833, was recorded on the 6th of November, 1837. It was witnessed by Alexander Walker and Samuel Neely, and the executors were James Whitsitt, Samuel Whitsitt, John Menees, J. R. Dabbs and James Thomas. His children are mentioned as follows, namely, Elender Cochran, Nancy McFarland, Margaret Wray, Susan Stanley, John Menees, Mary Wray, Elizabeth Ham and Jane Whitsitt. I have already given some account of the descendants of Jane Whitsitt, and it remains to record such items regarding the other children as may be in my possession.

The will indicates that three of the children had passed away before it was made in 1833, namely, Elender Cochran, Susan Stanley and Elizabeth Ham. Elender Cochran seems to have been the wife of John Cochran, and both of them were members of Mill Creek Church in the year 1800. The fact that they left heirs is mentioned in the will, but I have no knowledge whatever regarding these. Margaret Wray had three children, and Susan Stanley had heirs, but their number and names are not recorded. The document does not declare whether Mary Wray had issue or not.

McFarland Family.—The third item of the will reads as follows: "I give to my daughter Nancy McFarland, one-eighth of the above money, except three hundred dollars, two of which hundred I give to Elizabeth Davis, my granddaughter, the other hundred I give to James M. Davis, my G. grandson." Since Nancy McFarland was my maternal great grandmother I wish

to set down here a few items regarding her descendants. John McFarland the husband of Nancy Menees was a Scotch-Irishman, and they were married in the fort at Nashville during the year 1783. Their oldest child, James McFarland, seems to have been named in honor of James Menees, and was born in the Nashville fort on the 10th of January, 1784. The other children were Elizabeth, John, Andrew, Anne, Jane, Nancy and Benjamin Menees McFarland.

Family tradition declares that John McFarland was a son of a certain Duncan McFarland of Ireland, who married a Miss Porter, daughter of a sea captain of that name, but it is not certain whether he belonged to the naval or to the merchant marine. However, the McFarlands have been very proud of this connection, and in all subsequent generations the name Porter has been freely employed. Thomas McFarland, a brother of John's, was also a pioneer settler of Nashville, and had a son named Robert Porter McFarland. The name is often found among the descendants of John McFarland.

Bilbro Family.—James McFarland, the oldest son of the aforesaid John McFarland, married Miss Dicey Bilbro. The first of that name in America seems to have been William Billbrough, who appeared in James City County, one of the eight original shires of the Colony of Virginia, in the year 1634, (Va. Hist. Mag., vii, 192). The records of the County of James City were removed from Williamsburgh, the county seat, early in the Confederate war, and carried up to Richmond for safe keeping, where they were all destroyed in the great fire that swept over the capital city after its evacuation in April, 1865. For this reason it appears impossible adequately to trace the history of the Bilbros in the State of Virginia. By some process the ancestors of Dicey Bilbro became established in Surry, the county opposite James City, on the south side of James river. In the Surry County records Book 1, page 344, is found an indenture that was made on the 20th of July, 1669, between Thomas Bilbrough, of Virginia, Planter and James Elson, of the county of Surry, Joyner, in which Bilbrough conveys to Elson one hundred acres of land "for Ever in as full & Ample manner as I my Selfe have hold possess & Enjoy by virtue of

my Godfather Wm. Aybrough's will wherein he made me heire of the aforesaid hundred Acres of Land."

The relation between this Thomas Bilbrough and John Bilbro of Surry County, the grandfather of Dicey Bilbro, is unknown to me. The will of John Bilbro is recorded in Will Book No. 10 of Surry County, page 277 (annis 1768-1779). It was signed and acknowledged on the 5th of February, 1773, and proved before the court after his decease on the 23d of March, 1773. John Bilbro was a more than usually wealthy citizen. He held a large landed estate in Surry County, and in the year 1769, had begun to branch out and purchase land in Warren County, North Carolina. His personal property was appraised at about six thousand dollars in our present currency, the largest item of it being 27 valuable negro slaves. It was perhaps less than ten miles from his home to Jamestown, the first permanent settlement by white men on the American continent; and less than twenty miles to Williamsburgh, at that time the capital city and center of the highest life in the Ancient Dominion.

By his will John Bilbro had directed that after his youngest son Thomas should reach the age of fourteen years, his land on Shocco Creek in Warren County, N. C., should be sold and the proceeds divided between his five sons, Benjamin, Berryman, Burwell, Barnett and Thomas. He also directed that after the death of his wife, Betty Bilbro, the plantation in Surry should be sold, and the proceeds of it, together with the negroes and other personal property should also be divided between them. Betty Bilbro, the widow, Drury Barker and Benjamin Bilbro, the eldest son, were named as executors.

The War of the Revolution broke out shortly afterwards greatly disturbing values and expectations. But a still worse calamity, if possible, befell the children. Betty Bilbro, the wife and mother, was induced to take a certain Mr. Howard for a second husband. If provision had been made to remove her from her functions as executrix after that event, much injury might apparently have been avoided. At any rate, there is room for

found it possible to rescue very little from the wreck of their father's once ample estate.

Berryman Bilbro, the second son, married Dicey Charles, about the close of the Revolutionary War and went to reside on Shocco Creek in Warren County, N. C., where his father had owned lands. Dicey Bilbro was his oldest child, and the family tradition reports that she was born there in the year 1784. Two years later, on the 11th of February, 1786, when it is supposed that Thomas Bilbro had reached the fourteenth year of his age, Berryman Bilbro, who is now declared to be of Warren County, and the State of North Carolina, purchased two hundred acres of his father's land on the south side of Great Shocco Creek, paying therefor the sum of £160, current money of Virginia, to Betty Howard and Benjamin Bilbro, executors of John Bilbro, deceased. Special reference is made in the deed to the will of the testator under the conditions of which the sale had been made.

Dicey Charles, the wife of Berryman Bilbro, is supposed to have been derived from a family of that name, that was early established in James City County. On the 8th of April, 1655, Philip Charles obtained from Governor Edward Digges a patent for 140 acres of land "lying upon the Southermost branch of Warreny Creek on the east side of Chickahominy river," said land being due unto him for the transportation of three persons into the colony. (Virginia Royal Patents, vol. 4, p. 28). Likewise on the 7th of March, 1658, he obtained from Governor Samuel Mathews another patent for 1550 acres, also situated upon Chickahominy river in the County of James City. (Virginia Patents, Vol. IV, p. 358). The given name Dicey, which appears to have been a favorite name in the Charles family, was once widely employed in the State of Virginia. It is supposed to have been derived from the classic name Eurydice that was so popular among the Greeks. A woman of that name was the wife of Nestor, king of Pylos; another was the wife of Orpheus, and for her sake he descended into the lower world; another was the wife of Acrisios and the mother of Danae from whom Perseus sprang. Certainly it is a name of

excellent origin, distinction and significance, and it would seem a pity that it should have gone out of style.

Benjamin Bilbro had signed the deed to his brother Berryman, first in the name of Betty Howard, his mother, and secondly in his own name, since both of them were executors of John Bilbro. (Warren County Deed-Book ix, 96). Nearly two years later, however, on the 31st of January, 1788, Benjamin Bilbro, of the County of Surry and Colony of Virginia, sells Peter Cox, of the County of Warren and State of North Carolina, one hundred acres of land, and the deed was witnessed by Berryman Bilbro and John Lanier. (Warren Deed-Book xiv, 81). The fact that this land, which had cost John Bilbro the sum of £80 in 1769, should have been sold to Cox for £30 in 1788, and that it was conveyed by Benjamin Bilbro alone, without any reference to Betty Howard, seems to indicate a sort of struggle on the part of the Bilbro heirs to rescue a portion of their father's estate. Whether Berryman Bilbro was enabled to bring his share of the slaves and other property of his father out of Virginia is not known to me.

Finally on the 24th of November, 1795, Berryman Bilbro sold to Thomas E. Sumner, of Warren County, the 200 acres of land that he had obtained from his father's estate by purchase in the year 1786. (Warren Deed-Book xvii, 46), and shortly afterwards turned his face toward the western country. The amount obtained for the land was five hundred dollars "current money of the United States," an expression that introduces a new note in financial transactions. It is supposed that this sum represented the bulk of the property at that moment found in the possession of the family. They appear to have made strong exertions to obtain something more from the wreck of their fortunes in Surry County, Va., but without avail. They must have arrived in Tennessee about the close of the year 1795, or the opening days of 1796. Here they found

that James, the eldest son of John McFarland, was united in marriage with Dicey, the eldest daughter of Berryman Bilbro. Here the Scotch-Irish blood of the Menees and McFarland families flowed together with the old English blood of the Bilbros. The men of the Menees tribe have often been prudent and fortunate in the selection of wives, but it may be questioned whether any woman has ever entered the family by marriage who contributed so much to its dignity and prosperity as Dicey Bilbro.

The children of this couple were John, Nancy, William Heath, Dicey Ann, James Porter, Sarah, Jane Rachel, Frances E. and Martha. The only one of these who failed to marry and found a family was William Heath. He was born on the 25th of March, 1817, and died on the 17th of September, 1838, being 21 years, 5 months and 22 days old. His mother, Dicey Bilbro McFarland, always cherished the warmest affection and veneration for her uncle, William Heath, of Virginia. He had visited the family of her father in Warren County, North Carolina, and had commended himself in a special manner by sympathy and counsel in connection with their misfortunes in the ancient Surry home, and she could never forget his worth and kindness.

The Heaths are an ancient family in America and seem to be derived from Sir Robert Heath, who in 1629 obtained a charter for a grant of land to the southward of Virginia, known as the Province of Carolina, which has been copied in full in the Colonial Records published by the State of North Carolina (vol. 1, pp. 5-13). This vast territory occupied all the country lying between the 30th and 36th degrees of north latitude, and has been pronounced the most extensive possession ever owned by an individual subject. So far as I can perceive the family were not known in Surry County before 1681. In June of that year a list of tithables was taken by Benjamin Harrison in the district "from Sunken Marsh upwards," and Adam Heath was one of them, but it is not in my power to trace the descent from him down to the William Heath in question; nor is it clear whether the relationship with the Heaths had been established through the Bilbro or the Charles family. However,

it existed, and Dicey Bilbro was very pleased to name her second son in honor of her beloved uncle, William Heath. But William Heath McFarland found an untimely death, being carried off by an attack of typhoid fever, and the name William Heath was shortly afterwards bestowed upon me. I have sought to wear it with the respect and dignity that belong to it; but since it has been written in various ways, as Heath, and Heeth, and Heth, I selected the shortest form, but have not altered the mode of pronunciation, for the vowel "e" always receives the long sound.

John McFarland, M.D., the tallest as well as the oldest member of the family, measured six feet and seven inches in stature. He was a versatile, brilliant man, and enjoyed much success in his profession at Paris in Henry County. On several occasions he was a member of the State Legislature. He married Miss America S. Cook, a daughter of Judge Cook of Paris, who was greatly esteemed, and from her the name "America" has been widely adopted in the family. Dr. McFarland passed away in early life, leaving one child, John Porter McFarland who was born after the decease of his father. John Porter McFarland also chose the medical profession after the example of his father. He married Miss Pauline Anderson, a daughter of Churchill Anderson, Esq., of Lebanon, Tenn. I have already indicated, page 123, above, the manner in which the name Churchill became established in this family. They had two children, Pauline Porter and Churchill. The former married Mr. Gilruth, of Yazoo City, Miss., and the latter married Miss Linda Johnson. No issue in either case.

On the 14th of August, 1856, Mrs. America McFarland married A. R. Davis, Esq., a merchant of Lebanon, as her second husband.

James Porter McFarland likewise began his career as a doctor of medicine in West Tennessee. In 1849 he was seized with the gold fever and made his way to California, where he acquired a large property and returned to Middle Tennessee

They had six children as follows: Jamie, John Downey, Craig, Charles, Hayes and Lonsdale.

Jamie McFarland, the only daughter of the family, married Mr. William Cantrell. No issue.

John Downey, named in honor of Governor Downey, who was long his father's business partner in California, died without issue.

Craig McFarland married Miss Priscilla Cunningham. Issue: Eulalie and Elizabeth.

Charles is a prosperous business man in Texas, where he married Miss Eloise McAfee. Issue: eight children, of whom the names of only six are known to me, namely; James, Porter, Eloise, Charles, Eulalia, Frederick and Emily.

Hayes McFarland married Miss Caroline Edelman. No issue. Both of the above reside at Weatherford, Texas.

Lonsdale McFarland married Miss Elizabeth Crow, and has two children, Lyon Childress and Lonsdale Porter.

Nancy, the oldest daughter of James and Dicey (Bilbro) McFarland, married Harvey Peyton, Esq., who resided near Hebron Church, four miles west of Lebanon. The children of this union were Fanny, Lafayette, Jane, Elizabeth, James and John.

Fanny Peyton married Mr. Green White. Issue: Harvey, John Porter and other children.

Lafayette Peyton married a Miss Clayton, of Rutherford County. No issue.

Jane married Mr. Westbrook, who was a student from Mississippi, in the faculty of law at Cumberland University. Issue: Nancy and Charles Westbrook. Nancy Westbrook married Mr. Eddins and has issue. Charles married Miss Lucy Winfrey. Issue: Leon, Charles and Erin.

Elizabeth Peyton married Rufus Anderson, Esq., of Lebanon, Tennessee. They removed to Arkansas, where Mr. Anderson died leaving behind three children, namely; Rufus, Stonewall, and a daughter. Stonewall is a highly esteemed Methodist minister.

James Peyton married Miss Mary Price, and they have several children, whose names are unknown to me. Both James

and Lafayette Peyton and also Green White, reside in Rockwall County, near Dallas, Texas.

John Peyton was a member of the Seventh Regiment of Tennessee Infantry, commanded by Colonel Robert Hatton. He entered the Battle of Seven Pines, near Richmond, Va., with his regiment in June, 1862, and has never been heard of.

After the death of her first husband Mrs. Nancy Peyton married Captain William Major.

Sarah McFarland married Mr. John G. Swingley, who was of German extraction and whose forbears had belonged for ages to the Reformed German Church of the Rhenish Palatinate. The Swingleys are numerous in Maryland, and this family may have come from that State. The issue of this marriage were six children, namely: James, Martha, William, Thomas, America and George Swingley.

James Swingley was a soldier in the Confederate Army. After the war he married Miss Dora Owen. Issue: Guy, Leon, John and Pearl Owen.

Martha Swingley married James Harrison. Issue: Answorth, Henry and Eulalia.

Answorth married Miss Hattie Powell; Henry married Miss McConnell; and Eulalia married Richard Dew.

William Swingley married Miss Atkinson, and his brother Thomas married Miss Owen.

America Swingley married Gardner Guill. Issue: Sarah, Edine, Stella, Eugene. Of these Sarah married Samuel Wright, and they have two children; Edine married Wiley Williams; Stella and Eugene are still unmarried.

George, the youngest child of the Swingley family, is likewise married, but the name of his wife is unknown to me.

Jane Rachel, the fourth daughter of James and Dicey Bilbro McFarland, married Colonel James Hamilton, one of the most prominent and useful citizens of Wilson County. He was re-

Nancy Porter married Rev. Wesley G. Miller, D.D., who was for a whole generation a distinguished figure in the Methodist Church. He held prominent charges in many cities, and died at Louisville, Ky., where he was pastor of the Broadway Methodist Church. The issue of this marriage were Minnie, William, Jennie, America, Wesley Corprew and Nancy.

Minnie Miller married Captain Ernest Hines of the United States Army. Issue: Margery and John Hamilton Hines.

William is a successful physician in Little Rock, Ark., where his mother resides with him. Jennie Miller is not married. America Miller married Mr. Frank Cochran of Memphis. Wesley Corprew and Nancy Miller are unmarried.

America Hamilton married Mr. Charles Perry, of St. Joseph, Missouri. Issue: America, John and Robert Perry.

America Perry married Rev. H. E. Truex, a prominent and successful Baptist minister of Mexico, Mo. Issue: Eldon, Rachel and Aubrey Truex.

John Perry married Josephine Seay. Issue: America, John and Charles.

Robert Perry is also married and resides in California.

John Hamilton married Miss Nellie White. Issue: Roger and Courtney Hamilton, both of whom are unmarried.

James Hamilton married Miss Ruth Powell. Issue: James, Robert, Porter Price, John Perry, Samuel Stratton and Finney Hamilton, all unmarried.

Emma Hamilton married John L. Jones, of Columbia, Tenn. Issue: James, John L., Emma, Hattie, Horace and Elizabeth Jones. James and John L. are both married; the others are unmarried.

Robert Hamilton, named in honor of Colonel Robert Hatton, who fell at the Battle of Seven Pines, near Richmond, Va., married Miss Olie Hundley. They have two children and reside at Kansas City, Mo.

Frances E., the fifth daughter of James and Dicey (Bilbro) McFarland, married Thomas E. Williamson, of Green Hill, Wilson County. Several of my happiest years were passed under his roof as a pupil of the Academy at Mount Juliet. I owe much to this noble uncle and aunt. Their children were

John William, Martha Hannah, Dicey Aline, George, Frances Ewing, Sarah America and Lelia Pearl.

John William, born August 30, 1848, studied for several years at the University of Virginia, where I had the honor to be his roommate during the session of 1866-1867. He married Miss Talitha Williamson. Issue: William, George, Olivia. Frances, Thomas.

Martha Hannah, born August 27, 1850, was first married to Captain Andrew Baird. Issue: Andrewna. Her second husband was Mr. W. W. Shute. Issue: Ewing and Jeanette. All of them are unmarried.

Dicey Aline married John Stroud. Issue: Katherine, Frances. Lilian, Johnnie and Helen Stroud.

Katherine married Bishop Dorris. No issue. Frances married Thomas Grizzard and died without issue. Lilian married Charles Cartwright. No issue. Johnnie married Dr. Thaxton Guill. No issue. Helen is unmarried.

George Williamson died unmarried.

Frances Ewing Williamson married Granville Johnson. Issue: Granville and Sophia Johnson.

Sarah America Williamson married Dr. Edgar Blair. Issue: Julian, Frank, Ione and Edgar.

Lelia Pearl Williamson is unmarried.

Martha McFarland, the youngest and cheeriest member of the family of James and Dicey McFarland, married Mr. James H. Scales, a merchant of Triune, in Williamson County, who later removed to Gibson County, Tenn. Mr. Scales was a widower and had one daughter, Lavinia Kelley Scales, by a former marriage. She married Mr. Calvin Ferrell, a banker at Humboldt, and both of them have been greatly honored and loved by the members of the family. It is a sincere satisfaction to record their names in this connection.

The children of James and Martha McFarland Scales were Fanny, Sarah, Elizabeth, Theophilus Gentry, William and Martha Lee.

Fanny Scales married Mr. Edward Fox and had issue. Sarah Elizabeth married Mr. Percy, of Jackson, and has two daughters. Theophilus Gentry married and has one child, a daughter.

William is an oculist of distinction at Pine Bluff, Ark., and has been married twice. Martha is unmarried.

Only two of the nine children of the McFarland family are still alive, namely, Mrs. Jane R. Hamilton and Mrs. Frances E. Williamson.

John and Nancy (Menees) McFarland had a daughter named Elizabeth whose existence was unknown to me until I read the will of James Menees. She had married a Mr. Davis, and James Menees appears to have regarded her with kindlier solicitude than was bestowed by him upon any other of his grandchildren, reserving two hundred dollars out of the share of Nancy McFarland for her especial benefit, and one hundred dollars for the benefit of her son, James M. Davis. Mrs. Susan Curd, of Wilson County, is said to have been descended from Elizabeth Davis. I remember Dr. John Curd and his brother, William Curd, as also two of his sisters, one of whom married Mr. Harvey Freeman, and the other Mr. William Dodson, of the Hermitage neighborhood.

John, the third child of John and Nancy (Menees) McFarland, married Sarah, a sister of Dicey Bilbro. His daughter, Dicey McFarland, married Mr. Alanson Wynne, and James McFarland, M.D., who resided east of Lebanon, was his son. Dr. William McFarland, a son of the aforesaid James McFarland, M.D., is at present practicing his profession in Lebanon, Tenn.

Arthur, the next child of John and Nancy (Menees) McFarland, married Miss Hollen Brinson, daughter of Rev. James Brinson, a Baptist minister of Davidson County. The Brinson family are said to have come to Tennessee from South Carolina. Their oldest child, James Brinson McFarland, was born in 1816; their second child, John Porter McFarland was born in 1818; William Arthur McFarland in 1820; Nancy Jane McFarland, who married Mr. Graves, was born in 1822, and Joseph Friend McFarland in 1824. The above five children were all born in Tennessee, but in the year 1826 Arthur Mc-

born in 1828; Haywood Alford McFarland was born in 1833; Hollen Laura McFarland, who married Mr. Simmons, and died at Homer, La., in 1894, was born in 1835; Roselma McFarland, who married Mr. Hardy and died in 1892, was born in 1840. Besides the above ten children who all founded families, there were three others, George Washington, Talitha C. and Patrick Henry McFarland, who died without issue.

The above was a family of decidedly Baptist tendencies in religious belief. Mr. James Brinson, the father-in-law of Arthur McFarland was an ordained Baptist minister before he removed from Tennessee to Louisiana in the year 1820. (Paxton, *History of the Baptists of Louisiana*, St. Louis, 1888, page 238). There he became the earliest teacher of Baptist truth in the vast Ouachita region, and his family were in hearty sympathy with him. The historian mentioned above affirms that Arthur McFarland came to Louisiana in company with Mr. Brinson in the year 1820, but the McFarland family of Louisiana are stout in the affirmation that they did not arrive before the year 1826. James Brinson, who had induced them to remove passed away on the 5th of September, 1831, (Paxton, page 515), and in 1843, his son-in-law, Arthur McFarland is mentioned as having entered the Baptist ministry (Paxton, page 51). Mr. Brinson had settled at what is now known as Vienna. James Brinson McFarland, Joseph Friend McFarland and Elizabeth Ann McFarland resided at Athens, and Haywood Alford McFarland at Mt. Lebanon, La. John Porter McFarland was a Methodist minister and passed away in 1873, leaving behind him a beloved and venerated name.

Anne, the fifth child of John and Nancy (Menees) McFarland, married Mr. Somers and shortly afterwards removed to West Tennessee. Their children were Ann, James and John Somers. Mrs. Anna M. Gilchrist, of Nashville, was derived from this branch. It is matter of regret that I should have so little to relate concerning a family that is held in sincere respect by

land, married the Rev. Lewis Lindsey, a Baptist minister of Wilson County. Their children were James and John and Susan and Nancy. James Lindsey went early to Texas, where he established himself at Gainesville, and rose to opulence and dignity. He is married and has a family. His brother, John, also went to Texas where he married and had two children. One of the daughters married her kinsman, John Menees, and resides in Neely's Bend, but I have not learned what became of the other.

Nancy, the seventh child of John and Nancy McFarland, married William Bilbro, a brother of Dicey Bilbro. Their daughter, Eliza, married Mr. Jarman, near Murfreesboro. One of her sons is the Rev. L. B. Jarman. Dr. Bilbro, of Murfreesboro, also belongs to this family.

The youngest child of John and Nancy (Menees) McFarland was Benjamin Menees, who married Miss Young, a sister of 'Squire William Young of Wilson County, and removed to West Tennessee. His children were John, Ann, Jane and Benjamin Menees.

John was a merchant at Como, and died before the war between the States. He left issue, but I have no information regarding them.

Ann McFarland married first Mr. Joseph William Clark, who passed away in early life, leaving behind a son. She afterwards married a Mr. Seat, residing near Humboldt, by whom she has issue.

Her sister, Jane McFarland, married Dr. Bethshares, of Humboldt, and had issue. Likewise the youngest brother, Benjamin Menees, Jr., married and had issue.

Family of John Menees.—He was the only male heir of James Menees, all the other seven children being daughters. John Menees also kept to the original seat of the family in Neely's Bend. He married Miss Elizabeth Coffee, who came from South Carolina into Tennessee. The children of this union, were a daughter, whose name has not been recovered, but who married a Mr. Anthony and removed to Indiana, then John, Ellen, Henry, Eliza, James and Benjamin Menees.

Having no information regarding the Anthony family, who went early to Indiana, and have now almost lost touch with

their kindred in Tennessee, I will set down such notices regarding the other children as I have been enabled to collect.

John, the oldest son, married his cousin, Mary Ham, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth Ham of Mill Creek Valley. He died early leaving behind a daughter, Minerva Menees. This daughter married first Mr. John Going: no issue. After the Confederate War she became the second wife of the Rev. E. D. Stephenson. Issue: two sons and one daughter. One of the sons is named Eaton Stephenson.

Mrs. Mary (Ham) Menees, the mother of Minerva Menees above, also married a second time, her husband being Joseph W. Dabbs, a son of the Rev. Richard Dabbs, of Virginia, who went to Nashville in the year 1821 and died as pastor of the First Baptist Church of that city on the 21st of May, 1825. The issue of this marriage were Eliza John, who died at Columbia, Tenn., where she had been entered as a student in a female academy, and Lucy Dabbs. Joseph Dabbs resided on the estate of Samuel Ham, after the decease of the latter in the year 1856; and after the war between the States, his daughter Lucy married Alfred Gregory. One of Mr. Gregory's children, Miss May Belle Gregory, was pronounced the most beautiful woman in America. She married Silas Brackin of Murfreesboro, and was accidentally burned to death at her home on the 25th of November, 1903.

Ellen, the next child of John and Elizabeth (Coffee) Menees, married James Thomas. The first father of the Thomas family is supposed to have come from Virginia to Tennessee. About the year 1800, he established himself on a farm a few miles west of Lebanon in Wilson County, where he passed away, leaving a widow and three sons, James, Wilson and William Thomas. The mother of these children in due season married a second husband, who removed with her to the State of Illinois; but before her departure she apprenticed the lads to learn the saddler's trade in Nashville. Though they had been thus left to their own resources the sons appear to have retained sincere respect and affection for their mother. She was still

horseback to Illinois, to visit her and solace her declining age. Doubtless she was thankful for the affection of her children, and proud of their strength and valor; but if she could have foreseen the eminence and usefulness to which their posterity should attain, her heart would have been thrilled with still higher joys.

The children of Ellen and James Thomas were William J., John W., James and Ellen.

William J. Thomas married Miss Helen Caney, of Bowling Green, Ky. Issue: Anna, Ellen, James A. and Lily Thomas.

Anna married Mr. Oscar Hundley of Huntsville, Ala., and died without issue about ten years ago; Ellen died without issue; Lily married Mr. Trabue of Nashville, a civil engineer on the N. & C. R. R.; James A. Thomas married Miss Baxter, a stepdaughter of Judge Edward Baxter, and resides in Atlanta, Georgia.

John W. Thomas was educated at the University in Murfreesboro and married there Elizabeth, the only daughter of his uncle, Wilson Thomas. To this union were born two children, John W., Jr., and Ellen. The latter died unmarried. John W. Thomas, Jr., is superintendent of the N. C. & St. Louis Railroad, and married Miss Dilla Duncan, daughter of a former wholesale merchant of Nashville. They have one son and three daughters. The oldest of the daughters is named Ellen.

After the death of his first wife, Major Thomas married Miss DeBow of Nashville. For more than a generation John W. Thomas has been in charge of the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad, and in many other ways a leading force and figure in the affairs of Tennessee. In the spring of 1845, he went with his grandfather, John Menees, across the Cumberland from Neely's Bend to visit General Jackson at the Hermitage, where he was reported to be suffering with what might prove his last illness. The boy was thrilled with a strong emotion as the old hero lifted up his hand, now become thin and bony from wasting disease, and laid it in reverent benediction upon his head. If the mantle of leadership then fell upon the patriarch's successor, it was a kindlier leadership than General Jackson himself had ever borne. The great Tennessean who

succeeded him, has carried a military title it is true; but he never held a military office of any rank. And the only civil office that he ever adorned was that of justice of the peace, to which he was promoted by the sovereigns of Rutherford County at the beginning of his career. But though he has abstained from public office and governmental promotion few have equalled him in power and usefulness.

James Thomas, Jr., married first Miss Lucy Garrett, who died after eleven months. Seven years later he married Miss Mary Ross, whose father was once a leading dental surgeon of Nashville. Issue: a daughter, who married Mr. Robert Robinson, of Nashville.

Ellen, the only daughter of the Thomas family, married in 1857 Samuel Louis Demoville. The name indicates that Mr. Demoville was of French extraction and noble blood. It seems probable that he was of a Huguenot strain. He was born in Virginia in 1825, presumably in Fairfax County, as that appears to be the place where the family was established in Virginia. In the Statutes at Large, Vol. VII, pp. 1-20, Mr. Hening recites a Statute that was enacted by the House of Burgesses on Thursday, March 25, 1756. It relates to the French and Indian war, and to the part played in that disturbance by the militia of Prince William, Fairfax and Culpeper counties. Section xxii declares that "whereas divers companies of the militia of the several counties of Prince William, Fairfax and Culpeper were lately drawn out into actual service for the defense and protection of the frontiers of this colony against the incursions and depredations of the French and their Indian allies: whose names and the time they respectively continued the said service are contained in a certain schedule to this act annexed, and it is just and necessary that they should be paid for such their service, by the public." (Hening, *ubi sup.*, p. 20).

The schedule of the County of Fairfax is recorded first of all, and in the roster of the first company from Fairfax it is certified that Sampson Demovill, Corporal, was due to be paid 1,100 pounds of tobacco. In the character of a citizen of Fair-

above service was likely rendered. The time was shortly after the defeat of General Braddock, and Washington, who was stationed at Winchester, was employing every energy and resource to protect the people of Virginia against the victorious enemies who were then swarming in all sections.

I regret that there has been no opportunity to study the records of Fairfax, and to determine if possible the date when the Demovilles first appeared in Virginia, or to trace the line of descent from Sampson down to Samuel Louis Demoville; but it seems likely that the Demovilles of Nashville might be entitled to the benefits of membership among the Colonial Dames of America.

Louis Demoville was one of the most successful and valuable citizens of his generation in Nashville. His wife passed away in 1883, and he survived until the 18th of January, 1904. The children of this couple are Mary Ellen, who married Mr. W. P. Rankin, by whom she has issue; Loulie, who married Mr. James H. Campbell (no issue), and James L., who is unmarried.

Henry, the fourth child of John and Elizabeth (Coffee) Menees, married Miss Norman. Issue: John, James, Henry, Edward, Joseph and two daughters, Eliza and Ellen.

John, the eldest of these sons, married his cousin Miss Lindsey, and is an honored and valuable citizen of Neely's Bend, but I have never been brought into personal relations either with him or his brothers. They are the only people in the line of James Menees who bear the ancient family name in Middle Tennessee. The dignity of the family rests in a special sense in their keeping. I should be thankful for their better acquaintance.

Eliza, the first of the daughters of Henry Menees mentioned above, married Mr. Frank McIntosh. After her death in 1862 he married her sister Ellen, who is still living. Issue: several children, but the names are unknown to me.

Eliza, the fifth child of John and Elizabeth (Coffee) Menees, married John R. Dabbs, an older brother of the Joseph W. Dabbs who married Mrs. Mary (Ham) Menees. The Dabbs family, so far as my information goes, made their first appear-

ance in Virginia in the year 1731. On the 22d of December, 1731, Joseph Dabbs, who seems to have been the immigrant founder of the family, instituted an action for debt against one Stephen Hughes in the Court of Goochland County, Va. (Goochland Order Book No. 3, p. 30). It was brought forward from time to time, and in September, 1732, was brought to a settlement. The court "considered that the Plt. do recover against the Deft. five hundred and two pounds of tobacco with the costs of this Suit and a Lawyers fee." (Order Book 3, p. 113.)

On the 20th of July, 1738, Joseph Dabbs and Thomas Walker for £12, 10 sh. patented 2,500 acres of land in the County of Goochland (now Cumberland) on both sides of Willis river, near Randolph Creek. This appears to have been the Dr. Thomas Walker who in 1747 gained celebrity through an exploring expedition in Kentucky, during which he had the honor to affix the name Cumberland, selected in compliment to the duke who had just triumphed at Culloden, to a mountain range and a great river. Not long after the above patent was taken out Mr. Dabbs purchased the moiety of Walker and thus became the sole owner of the land.

On the 16th of July, 1740, Dabbs bought of Peter Brooks for £100 a tract of land containing by estimation 2,100 acres. It was situated on the south branch of Willis river in Goochland (now Cumberland) County. On the 17th of November, 1741, "in Consideration of the Natural Love, good will and Affection which he hath and doth bear to his Brother-in-law Charles Lee and his Sister Anna his Wife," Dabbs conveys to them 200 acres of the land purchased from Peter Brooks.

On the 7th of December, 1743, he sold to Thomas Bassett for £160 sixteen hundred acres of land that himself and Walker had patented in 1738. On the 24th of September, 1747, Dabbs sold to Thomas Bassett for £220 the tract containing 2,100 acres formerly purchased by him from Peter Brooks, and upon which himself and his brother-in-law Lee were then residing. After that sale he removed to Lunenburg County, where I have not been permitted to investigate his history. On the 13th of August, 1748, this Joseph Dabbs of Lunenburg com-

veyed to Anne Mayo of Goochland, for five shillings, a tract of 1,000 acres in Goochland. This Anne Mayo was his sister, who had formerly been the wife of Charles Lee, and the gift of 1,000 acres was intended to hold the place of the 200 acres which had been taken from her and sold to Thomas Bassett.

I have no record of the decease of this first Joseph Dabbs in Lunenburg. His home was apparently in that section of the county which was later included in Charlotte. When Charlotte was constituted in 1764, he had apparently passed away, but was represented by two sons, namely, "Joseph Dabbs of the Province of South Carolina and Richard Dabbs of the Parish of Cornwall, Charlotte County." I have no information respecting the fortunes of "Joseph Dabbs of the Province of South Carolina," but Richard Dabbs of Charlotte became a prosperous and prominent citizen. His will was signed and acknowledged on the 18th of July, 1809, and proved in court, after his decease, on the 4th of September, 1809. He mentions his eldest son Joseph, his sons George, Richard, William, Josiah and James. His daughter Polly had married James Lampkin, Nancy had married Mitchell Gill, Sally Vaughan seems to have been already a widow. The youngest daughter, Elizabeth, was the wife of William Mitchell. As executors of the estate were named Richard Dabbs, Jr., Josiah Dabbs and William Mitchell.

This Richard Dabbs, Jr., the third son of Richard Dabbs, Sr., entered the Baptist ministry about the year 1804. Appreciative biographical notices of him may be found in Semple's History of the Baptists in Virginia, and in Taylor's Virginia Baptist Ministers, First Series, pp. 380-6. These do not mention the fact that about the year 1795, he had married Elizabeth Mitchell, but in the records of Charlotte County is found an indenture made on the 2d of September, 1795, which establishes that point. In that document Elizabeth Mitchell of the County of Lunenburg in consideration of five shillings and of the natural love and affection which she bears to Richard Dabbs, Jr., "who hath intermarried with her daughter, Betsey Mitchell," conveys to him 150 acres of land situated on the headwaters of Meherrin river in Charlotte County. I have

thus brought forward four several generations of the Dabbs family in the State of Virginia, namely, the immigrant, Joseph Dabbs of Goochland and Lunenburg, his son Richard Dabbs, Sr., of Lunenburg and Charlotte, next his son the Rev. Richard Dabbs, Jr., of Charlotte, and lastly, John R. and Joseph W. Dabbs, who formed marriage alliances with the Menees family of Nashville, Tenn.

There were six children of John R. and Eliza (Menees) Dabbs, namely, Ellen, John, Elizabeth, James Polk, Mary and William Dabbs.

Ellen, the oldest of these children, married Rev. E. D. Stephenson, a native of Alabama, who graduated at Union University in Murfreesboro, and was a popular and influential Baptist minister. They had several children, but I can recall the name of none except Ellen, the oldest daughter. It was this daughter, Ellen Stephenson, who later became the second wife of Alfred Gregory, and the mother of May Belle Gregory, who was reputed to be the most beautiful woman of her day in America. Mrs. Ellen Stephenson died in the year 1865, and Mr. Stephenson later married Mrs. Minerva Going.

Elizabeth Dabbs married John, a son of 'Squire King, an honored citizen of Nubbin Ridge on the Murfreesboro Pike. Issue: one child, a daughter.

Mary, the youngest daughter, married Mr. Huggins and had issue. I am not in possession of any facts regarding the sons of John R. Dabbs, except that William Dabbs married and had a daughter, who later became the wife of Mr. Whitworth.

James, the sixth child of John and Elizabeth (Coffee) Menees, married a great while ago and removed to Memphis, Tenn. I have sometimes observed that name at Memphis, but had no suspicion that those who bore it might be nearly related to me. Some of them, if I remember correctly, have returned to first principles and write the name McNees instead of Menees.

dren, and in 1848, left Neely's Bend and removed to Brookville in Noxubee County, Miss. It has been many years since they had much intercourse with their relations in Tennessee. The youngest daughter of Benjamin Menees is Mrs. Hattie Nuckols of Brookville.

Ham Family.—Item No. 8 of the will of James Menees reads as follows: "I give to the heirs of my daughter Elizabeth Ham, dec'd. one eighth of the above money, to be equally divided among each of them, and do hereby charge my granddaughter, Mildred Nunley, of having received seventy-five dollars of her part of the above eighth, and also charge Stephen Ham of receiving seventy-five dollars of the above eighth." I possess no information regarding the exact number of the heirs of Elizabeth Ham. It is clear that there was a daughter named Mildred Nunley and a son named Stephen. There was another daughter named Mary of whom I have given some account above in treating John Menees and Joseph Dabbs.

Elizabeth Ham had died before the will of James Menees was made in 1833, but Samuel Ham survived until the year 1856, a venerated figure and an ornament to human nature. He was buried at Mill Creek Church. The Hams are an ancient and widely extended family. I have traced their earliest contact with the Menees family on page 75 above.

Menees Family of Robertson County.—I beg leave to set down here a sketch of Dr. Thomas Menees, a descendant of Benjamin, the younger brother of James Menees, that was kindly communicated to me by Mr. A. V. Goodpasture, the honored editor of this Magazine:

"Benjamin Menees settled at Sulphur Fork of Red river in the present County of Robertson—then Tennessee County. Was justice of peace as early as 1790. Built a block-house for protection against the Indians, in which he died in 1811.

"James Menees, son of Benjamin Menees, married Rebecca Williams, a graduate of the Moravian Female College at Salem, North Carolina, who died when their only child, Benjamin Williams Menees, was an infant.

"Benjamin W. Menees married Elizabeth Harrison, a daughter of Thomas Harrison of Davidson County. They had seven children, four of them sons and three daughters. Four died

in infancy or youth. The survivors were Dr. George W. Menees, of Springfield, Tenn., Mrs. Emily E. Dunn, of Turnersville, Tenn., and Thomas Menees, of Nashville, the eldest of the three, who was born on Mansker's Creek, Davidson County, June 26, 1823.

"Dr. Thomas Menees married Elizabeth Hooper, a daughter of Claiborne V. Hooper, of Davidson County, and they had four children: Mary Rebecca died in infancy in 1854; Thomas Williams born January 15, 1855, died September 15, 1878 (he married Mollie Loftin of Nashville and left one son, Thomas Williams); Young Hooper born August 15, 1857 and died December 12, 1883 (he married Alma W. Bunch of Springfield, and had one daughter, Elizabeth); Orville Harrison born April 15, 1859.

"Dr. Thomas Menees married a second wife, Mrs. Mary Jane Walker, widow of Hiram K. Walker, editor of the *True Whig* and *Republican Banner* of Nashville, August 14, 1868. They have one child, Mary Elizabeth, born December 14, 1873. Dr. Thomas Menees was a member of the Confederate Congress from Tennessee."

Reference is also invited to Isaac Menees, page 233 above, who may have been a son of Benjamin Menees. Isaac and Nancy Menees were both members of Mill Creek Church in the year 1800. It is possible they were husband and wife. It is also possible that they may have been brother and sister. On page 79 above, it was also proven that Benjamin had a daughter named Elinor. James Menees, whose name is mentioned above as the son of Benjamin Menees, was known as James Menees, Jr., perhaps with reference to his uncle, James Menees of Nashville. He was the sheriff of Robertson County from 1798 to 1804. (*American Hist. Mag.*, vol. 5, page 323).

Blakey Family of Kentucky.—On page 234 of this magazine attention was called to the fact that the Whitsitt family had migrated from Tennessee to Logan County, Kentucky, leaving behind none but James Whitsitt, the oldest son of William. It seems likely that this removal was initiated by George Blakey, the husband of Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey. The Blakey family records affirm that George Blakey emigrated from Davidson County, Tennessee, to Logan County, Kentucky, April, 1795. There was as yet no suggestion of the removal of

described as a citizen "of the County of Logan and State of Kentucky," occurs in an indenture made on the 30th of September, 1800, conveying a tract of land to Tyree Harris.

The children of George and Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey were Pamela, Reuben, William Whitsitt, Thomas, Elizabeth, Churchill Haden, James Whitsitt, Sally P., Nelly Ann and George Douglas.

The first of these, Pamela born 1788 in Henry County, Va., married William Haden. They lived near Auburn, Logan County, Kentucky, and had one daughter, an only child, who married a Mr. Hopkins. To that union were born two sons, George Samuel and William Haden Hopkins, who both died without issue. Mrs. Pamela Haden died in 1871. I have a distinct recollection of Mr. William Haden during a visit I made to his house in 1852 in company with my father and mother. He was a stout and worthy gentleman, and made a striking impression upon his boyish guest. His appearance recalled his noble ancestor "Anthony Haden of England, who married Margaret Douglas of Scotland," and I would have fought for his claim against Colonel John Wise or any other comer. In fact it is a sincere regret that I have never been able to visit the County of Accomac, Virginia, and study the records in regard to Anthony Haden. The devotion that exists between the Blakeys and Hadens is ancient and beautiful.

Another pleasant memory is connected with my visit to the seat of the Hadens. Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey had then been a widow for ten years and was living in great age and honor with her eldest daughter and child. She made a venerable and impressive figure. I was brought forward in fear and trembling to be introduced to her, and shall never forget her kindly, courtly bearing as she rose up from the wheel where she was spinning flax, and received my childish greeting. She imparted to me a new sense of the majesty and sweetness of human nature.

The next entry in the Blakey records reads as follows: "Reuben died in infancy, and was buried in Buckingham County, Virginia." Possibly this incident relates to the first and only visit that the young wife made to the home of her father-in-law, Thomas Blakey, in Buckingham County. It may have been her farewell visit in preparation for the journey they were shortly to make to the boundless western country. Hon. Churchill H. Blakey once spoke to me of the unutterable pang that seized upon her, as the wagon in which she was traveling reached the summit of the Blue Ridge and began to descend

on the farther side, and she thought of that lonely child's grave far away in Old Virginia.

The next child, William Whitsitt Blakey, was named in honor of his maternal grandfather, and when he was making his will on the 15th of March, 1805, the grandfather acknowledged the honor with a bequest of one hundred pounds. William W. Blakey married Susan, the youngest sister of Governor John Breathitt. She died in 1830. The issue of this union were George Thomas and Ann Eliza Blakey.

George Thomas Blakey exhibited some of the Breathitt traits, in that he was a decided favorite in political life. He was for several years sheriff of Logan County, and sometimes represented it in the Legislature. Born in 1821, he died in March, 1904. He was a man of weight and worth.

George Thomas Blakey married his cousin Sarah Ellen McLean, and their children were Susan, who married General Heard of Washington, Ga., and left issue; William, whose first wife was Miss Taylor, and his second wife Miss Carrie McDonald of New Albany, Ind., but there was no issue by either; George Davidson, who married a daughter of General Heard by a former marriage, without issue, and Lucile, who married Dr. Thomas Whitsitt Blakey. They have one daughter, Sally George Blakey, born March, 1885.

Ann Eliza Blakey, the daughter of William W. and Susan (Breathitt) Blakey, married Dr. Waller Bowyer and removed to Saline County, Missouri. They have several children. The marriage is supposed to have taken place in 1845, since a contract made on the 7th of February of that year (Logan County Deed-Book Z, page 643) refers to it.

So far as I am aware, Thomas is the only member of the family of George and Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey, who was a native of Tennessee. He was born in Davidson County on the 17th of June, 1794; married his cousin Ann Haden Whitsitt on the 28th of January, 1823, and died April 30th, 1856. His wife, who was born in Tennessee on the 7th of September, 1803, died on the 31st of January, 1857, in Russellville, Ky. Their children were Churchill Haden and Mary Ellen Blakey.

Churchill Haden Blakey was born August 26, 1829, and married Mary Catherine Becker, daughter of Theodore and Minerva Becker, on the 26th of March, 1855. Mary Catharine Becker was born on the 26th of March, 1836. The children of this couple were a son, still-born January 11, 1857; Thomas

April 9, 1869; George Douglas, born October 20, 1871; twin daughters, born July 11, 1873; one named Anna, died July 29, 1873, and the other, Eva, died May 5, 1874; Lou B., born July 16, 1876; Mary B., born April 2, 1878, and died in 1889.

Churchill H. Blakey was a man of light and leading, and made a fine career in Southern Kentucky. He was often chosen to the Legislature of the State, and was an enlightened and capable public servant. Through his agency the State of Kentucky erected a monument to Governor John Breathitt in the Cemetery at Russellville.

Mary Ellen Blakey, the sister of Churchill H., was born September 15, 1841, and married J. Monroe Hall, June 24, 1860. Their children were Whitsitt Hall, born November 5, 1867; W. Scott Hall, born ———— and Thomas Churchill Hall, born May, 1873. All of them are married and have families.

Elizabeth, the fifth child of George and Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey, married John M. Hogan, of Olmstead, Logan County. Their children were John W., Margaret Douglas, Raleigh T., Virginia M., Henry Harrison, Georgia Ann, Elizabeth P. and Sarah Ellen Hogan.

John W. Hogan married Virginia Jains. They had one daughter, who married Bennett Harris, and these in turn had a daughter named Pearl Harris.

Margaret Douglas Hogan married Benoni Dawson, and their children were Mary, who married B. Columbus Jenkins; Helen, who married Benjamin Turner; Prof. T. J. Dawson, of Nashville, who married Miss Amelia Bourne.

Raleigh Thomas Hogan died without issue in the year 1852.

Virginia M. Hogan married Dr. Thomas Churchill Blakey, and their children were James M., Lillian Whitsitt, Susan Breathitt and Nettie Maggie Tilden. After the death of his first wife Dr. Blakey married as his second wife, Martha Ellen Roach, and their children were Charles Roach and Fanny Heard Blakey.

Henry Harrison Hogan married Miss Mary Conway, and they had a son George S. Hogan, a civil engineer residing in Louisville.

Georgia Ann Hogan married first A. F. Haskins, by whom there was no issue. Her second husband was T. R. Wyatt, by whom she had a son named Thomas.

Elizabeth P. Hogan married W. L. Thompson and they emigrated to Green County, Missouri.

Sarah Ellen Hogan married Dathan Darby. Issue: one daughter, Corinne Darby.

Churchill Haden, the sixth child of George and Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey, married Sallie Haden. They removed to Georgia, where he died without issue. In the records of Logan County, Kentucky, Deed-Book P, page 141, is found a document which recites that Churchill H. Blakey had intermarried with Sallie I. Haden, who was possessed of certain negroes; that said Churchill had died without issue, and thereby said negroes became the property of George Blakey, the father of Churchill; whereupon George Blakey states that justice requires that the negroes aforesaid should belong to Sallie, and on account of love and affection he conveys the same to her. This document belongs to the year 1827, and indicates that Churchill H. Blakey had died in that year. On the 3d of August, 1829, the Haden heirs of divers names united through the commissioner in conveying a tract of land on Gaspar river to the aforesaid Sallie Blakey, formerly Sallie Haden, who had married Churchill H. Blakey (Logan Deed-Book Q, p. 122). This is a valuable monument of family history and genealogy. Among other items it renders clear the fact that after the death of Churchill H. Blakey, his wife returned from Georgia and established herself among her kindred in Kentucky.

James Whitsitt, the seventh child, married Nancy Haden and emigrated to Springfield, Mo., in 1839, where he was much respected, and was known as Judge Blakey. Their children were William H., Reuben Ewing, Margaret, George Douglas and Dr. Thomas Churchill Blakey.

William H. Blakey, the oldest of the above children, married Sarah T. Prunty, and their children were James Thomas, George and James Whitsitt. James Thomas, the oldest of these, died in infancy. After the death of his first wife, William Blakey, married Miss Louisa Yarborough, to which union there were three children, Wesley Douglas, Sarah C. and Nellie Ann.

Reuben Ewing Blakey, the second brother, married Miss Epenetus Mason, who died without issue in 1859.

Margaret, the only daughter of the family, married Colonel John H. Miller, who had emigrated from Tennessee, and they had an only child, Mary Douglas Miller. They live at Ritchie, Mo.

George Douglas, the fourth child of this union, married Mar

and the names of his children have been recorded in connection with the Hogan family above.

Sally P. Blakey, the eighth child of George and Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey, was a woman of remarkable beauty, and retained her charms even down to old age. Her first husband was James Proctor, and the issue of this marriage were Blakey, James, Adolphus Young, Mary and Margaret Proctor.

Dr. Blakey Proctor married Miss Josephine Grider, of Warren County, and their children were Robert, George, William, Clarence, Alma and Tilden. They reside six miles north of Auburn, in Logan County, Kentucky.

James Proctor married Miss Belle Patterson, of Gallatin, Tenn. Their children are Sarah, who married Mr. Kinnerly, a Baptist minister of Henderson County, Kentucky, Henrietta, who married Mr. Dunn, of Russellville, and Annie, Samuel, Churchill and John Proctor.

Adolphus Young married Miss Johnson, of Warren County, and they have one son, Thomas Proctor.

Margaret Proctor married Frank Patterson, of Warren County, and they have issue.

Mary Proctor is unmarried.

After the death of her first husband, Sally (Blakey) Proctor married Edmund Duncan, a native of Virginia, who had settled in Warren County, Kentucky. Their children were Sally, Mary and Thomas Duncan.

The oldest daughter, Sally Duncan, married Mr. Carpenter, of Smith Grove; Mary Duncan married Mr. James Felts, of Logan County, and Thomas Duncan is unmarried.

Nelly Ann Blakey, the ninth child of George and Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey, married Rezin Haden, and emigrated with him to Springfield, Mo. They had one child, Douglas Haden.

The youngest child of George and Margaret (Whitsitt) Blakey, was George Douglas Blakey, who resided at Rural Choice, the paternal seat near Russellville, a man of mark in various directions, and one of the chroniclers of the records of the Blakey and Whitsitt families. He married Miss Lucy Thomas, of Wilson County, Tennessee, and their children were Sally George, Pamela and Thomas Blakey.

Sally George married first Mr. McAuley, and they had a daughter, Lucy, who married the Rev. Mr. Julian, a Methodist minister of Indiana. Her second husband was Dr. Samuel Porter, to which union there was one child, Sally George, who married Captain Samuel Adams, of Bowling Green. They have issue, but the names of the children are unknown to me.

Pamelia Blakey married Mr. Samuel Duncan, of Logan County, Kentucky. Their children are James, William, George, Minnie, and several other daughters.

Thomas Blakey married Miss Fanny Cundiff, of Muhlenburg County, Kentucky. Issue: several children, whose names are unknown to me.

Dr. George D. Blakey was a vigorous man in many directions. He was always interested in State and national politics. When, in the year 1849, Cassius M. Clay was a candidate for gubernatorial honors in Kentucky, on the Abolition ticket, Dr. Blakey was his running mate, as an aspirant for the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Echoes of that incident are preserved in the records of Logan County. In Deed-Book xxix, p. 153, under date of February 26, 1849, George D. Blakey sets free and emancipates a negro girl. In the same book, p. 166, under date of March 12, 1849, George D. Blakey asserts that the slaves brought by him from Georgia to Kentucky, and inherited from R. B. Patterson, were not brought for the purpose of sale. The aforesaid R. B. Patterson, of Georgia is supposed to have been a son of the Rev. David Patterson, of Buckingham County, Virginia, who had married Sally, a daughter of Thomas Blakey, on the 15th of April, 1763. He was therefore closely related to Dr. Blakey.

Whitsitt Family of Kentucky.—When William Whitsitt, the head of the family, emigrated from Tennessee to Kentucky in the year 1800, he carried with him his wife, Ellen (Menees) Whitsitt, his son William Whitsitt, Jr., who was then twenty years of age, and his three daughters, Nancy, Ellen and Sarah Whitsitt. There is a Deed of Gift in the office at Russellville (Deed-Book C., p. 530) dated the 2d of July, 1811, just twelve days before his decease, in which William Whitsitt bestows upon his three daughters, Elenor E., Nancy H. and Sally P. Whitsitt, a negro woman named Rachel and her two children, Penina and Melvina. This document has just been brought to my knowledge through the kindness of Clayton B. Blakey, Esq., of Louisville, and it seems to establish the fact that four children still remained in his household in the year 1800.

William Whitsitt, Jr., married Miss Emily Haden, daughter of Captain William Haden, in the year 1800. Issue: Ellen, Ann Haden, Sally and William C. Whitsitt.

the mill, for \$2,000. About the year 1830 the Comforts removed to Mississippi and settled at Canton. The issue of this family were Emily, John W. and Daniel Benjamin Comfort.

Emily married Dr. Lewis, of Vicksburg; John W. was a doctor of medicine and settled in New Orleans, where he married and some time afterward perished in a scourge of yellow fever. I have no record of the children in either of the above families.

Daniel Benjamin Comfort, who lived in Kosciusko, Miss., married Miss Durham, a half sister of Senator George, of Mississippi. They had one daughter, who married Mr. Leonard, of Memphis, Tenn. After his first wife had passed away Mr. Comfort married her sister, another Miss Durham. Issue: Edgar, Catharine, Daniel B., Georgia, William, James, Lida, Hugh, Elizabeth and Eugene Comfort.

The record of Ann Haden Whitsitt, who married Thomas Blakey on the 28th of January, 1823, has been given above in connection with the Blakey family.

Sally Whitsitt married George Stalcup, of Sumner County, Tennessee. No issue. They removed to Bonham, Texas, and died about the year 1870.

William C. Whitsitt, M.D., married Miss Edmunds, of Glasgow, Ky. Issue: Mary Jane, Elizabeth, William E. and Churchill H. Whitsitt.

Mary Jane married Major J. M. Collins. I have no information regarding the issue of this union. Major Collins removed to Arkansas and settled at Fort Smith.

Elizabeth married Mr. Smith, of Fannin County, Texas, but I have no record respecting their family.

William E. Whitsitt married an Indian girl, and lived at Salisaw, not far from Fort Smith in the Indian Territory. Some years ago when I chanced to be on a visit to Fort Smith I heard gratifying accounts both of himself and his family, but I had no knowledge of the fact that he was of blood relation to me; otherwise I should have journeyed to Salisaw to visit him.

Churchill H. Whitsitt, the youngest child of this union, died without issue.

William Whitsitt, Sr., had a memorable career. Born in Ireland on the 20th of August, 1731, he came to Albemarle County, Virginia, with his father about the year 1741; served under Major Washington in the French and Indian war, which

Revolutionary War in October, 1781; removed from Henry County, Virginia, to Nashville, Tenn., in October, 1790; left Nashville for Logan County, Kentucky, in the autumn of 1800, where according to Dr. Howell "he settled on the spot where Russellville now stands," and thus became one of the founders of an important city. On the 14th of July, 1811, he closed his eyes at Nashville, in the home of his son, the Rev. James Whitsitt. Certainly he had been a wanderer in the earth.

His last will, which was dated on the 15th of March, 1805, is of record in the office at Russellville. It devises to his son William Whitsitt 300 pounds; to William Whitsitt Blakey, son of George and Peggy Blakey, 100 pounds; to William D. Whitsitt, son of James Whitsitt, a negro boy; to William Whitsitt Ewing, son of Reuben and Ellen Ewing, 100 pounds. He ratifies the gift that he had made to his daughter, Sally Porter, of land in Neely's Bend, and directs that the remainder of his estate shall belong to his wife, Ellen, during her lifetime, and that after her death it shall be divided equally between his four children, James Whitsitt, Betsy Breathitt, Peggy Blakey and Ellen Ewing.

Another war with England broke out the year after he had passed away, and his son, William Whitsitt, Jr., entered the United States Army, and departed for the scene of hostilities on the Northwestern frontier about the 12th of September, 1812. He remained in the field under the command of General William Henry Harrison apparently until December, 1814, during which period he formed a strong attachment to the person and fortunes of the American commander. In subsequent years he was connected with the Democratic party in Kentucky, and was especially proud of the success of his nephew, John Breathitt, who was chosen by that party to be governor of Kentucky in 1832. But in 1837 he left Kentucky to spend his closing days with the Comfort family in Mississippi, and when in 1840 General Harrison was nominated by the Whigs to be President of the United States, he forsook his allegiance to the Democrats and rallied to the standard of his beloved leader. So much noise was made about this change that he was employed to stump the State of Mississippi in favor of Harrison, in the autumn of the year 1840.

He was honored with the title of general, though he did not attain that rank in the service of the United States, but after the War of 1812 he was active in the militia of Kentucky, and

on the field. He died near Canton, Miss., on the 21st of March, 1842.

His son, Dr. William C. Whitsitt, was chosen to the Kentucky Legislature from Barren County, Kentucky, and later removed to Texas, where he settled in Fannin County, and became very popular, being repeatedly chosen to the Legislature in both the Lower and Upper House. It is not known whether any of his descendants remain in Texas. The Smith family of Fannin County would perhaps be the only representatives of his blood.

I had supposed that Nancy, the daughter of William and Ellen (Menees) Whitsitt, whose name was recorded on page 74 above, had passed away long before the 2d of July, 1811, at which time she is mentioned by her father in a document that is of record in the office at Russellville. So far as my information goes this name does not occur in any other document issued before or after the date in question. I have no further record concerning her.

Ewing Family of Kentucky.—Genealogists of the Ewing family of Kentucky have reported that "Robert Ewing with his brother Charles came from Ireland to Prince Edward County, Virginia, about the year 1740; and that Robert married Mary Baker, a daughter of a Presbyterian minister, and died in Bedford County, Virginia, in June, 1787." The children of Robert Ewing are said to have been Robert, Baker, Reuben, Chatham, Young, Urban, John, Finis, Polly, Patsy and Sidney Ann. All of these settled in Logan County, Kentucky, about the year 1796.

Reuben, the third son of Robert Ewing, of Prince Edward, married Ellen Whitsitt, and for that reason I have felt an interest in the history of the family. The County of Prince Edward was not organized until the year 1753, but that is a trifling inaccuracy. It was taken from Amelia County (Johnston, *Old Virginia Clerks*, Lynchburg, 1888, p. 313), and the two Ewings may have journeyed from Ireland to Amelia in 1740, instead of to Prince Edward, as was reported above. That would amount to a distinction without a difference.

But there were Ewings in Amelia from an early date. In May, 1744, Edward Brifwate "of Reighlif Parish in Amelia County" conveyed to "Samuel Ewing of the Parish and County aforesaid," 238½ acres on Fort Creek in Amelia, for £100. The name Braithwaite or Brathwaite has gotten itself into many peculiar shapes in America, but none of them is more striking than Brifwate. When Edward Brifwate and his wife came to make their mark in subscribing the above deed their names

were recorded as Edwd. X. Brafford and Bridget X. Brafford, but the Clerk of the Court in his certificate refers to them as "Edward Brathwit and Bridget his wife."

On the 16th of May, 1746, James Alexander, of Amelia, conveys to James Ewing, of the same county, 300 acres on the north side of Fort Creek for £60, and one of the items in the description refers to Samuel Ewing's corner.

On the 18th of May, 1750, Bartholomew Zachary conveys to William Ewing, of Amelia, 800 acres lying on both sides of the Mill Fork of Vaughan's Creek in Amelia.

On the 15th of June, 1750, James Ewing, of Amelia, gives to Joshua Ewing, of Cecil County, Maryland, a power of attorney to sell one-half acre of land that belonged to him in Cecil County.

On the 5th of May, 1753, Samuel Wallace and Esther his wife, of Amelia, convey to Alexander Ewing, of the same county, 300 acres of land lying betwixt Fort Creek and Falling Creek in Amelia, for £50.

The question arises whether Robert and Charles Ewing might have been children of some of the persons above mentioned, or whether they were themselves immigrants from Ireland as has been suggested above. So far as I am informed their names do not appear in the records of Amelia County; and I have discovered them in no other place in the records of Prince Edward, except in the last will of Martha, the wife of Caleb Baker, which I copied from Will-Book Number I, p. 24, in the office at Farmville, Va.

The will of Caleb Baker was the second recorded in Prince Edward after the opening of the office, and is found on p. 3 of Will-Book Number 1. It is a clear and informing document, and is worthy of careful study. In every instance in the will, and sometimes in the deeds recorded in Amelia, he spells his name, not Baker, but Beaker. That appears to have been

the same as the Latin word *bacar*, and the English word *beaker*, and signifies a vessel for drinking wine. The ancestors of Caleb Beaker were probably cupbearers at some court of high or low degree and took their name from the function which they there fulfilled. The well known family name of Blankenbaker seems also to refer to the same origin, those who bore it feeling a special pride in maintaining their beaker in a condition of immaculate whiteness. But many a Blankenbaker has found by experience that people in general have small appreciation of the nicer points in philology. The descendants of Caleb Beaker made a like discovery, and were compelled to submit when their name also should be pronounced and written Baker instead of Beaker. They might have saved themselves in a measure if they had Anglicized the name in the form of Beecher; but few of those who employed it in that form would be enabled to make out its original meaning. It would be well, however, if all who bear the name of Caleb Beaker could be informed of these simple facts in connection with it. History is worth preserving for its own sake, and the truth of it should be duly honored.

The will of Caleb Beaker was made on "the 24th day of November, Anno Dom., 1750," but it was not presented for probate until the 9th of April, 1755. His executors were his wife Martha and his two oldest sons Samuel and Henry Beaker. To Samuel he gave 463 acres of land on Spring Creek in Amelia (now Prince Edward), to which he had already made him a formal deed, charging him the price of £100, on the 15th of August, 1746. To his son Henry, he bequeathed 400 acres, "joining the foregoing peace of land," which he had likewise conveyed to him for £100, on the 15th of August, 1746. To his son Abraham Beaker, he gave 200 acres "joining the foregoing pieces of land." To his son Caleb Beaker, he bequeathed 307 acres, "joining the foregoing tracts of land," but since this was his place of residence, he reserved it for his wife during her lifetime.

The next bequest went to his daughter, Ruth Johnston, and consisted of twenty pounds current money of Virginia. The same amount was bestowed upon his daughter Martha Ewing,

and in the next place upon his daughter Mary Ewing. His youngest daughter was Easter Wallis, and unto her, he says, I give and bequeath "one shilling sterling and no more." The last item of the will directed that "three hundred acres of land joining Patrick Galaspas land on Puffelow Creek" should be reserved to help toward raising the legacies which he had granted to his three daughters.

But on the 6th of February, 1754, he added a codicil in which he provided "that three hundred acres which I desired to be sold to help the Legases my Mind is Altered I give it all to my son, Henry Beaker and his heirs forever." This change was unexpected. The three daughters, Ruth, Martha and Mary, were thereby deprived of their legacies almost as effectively as Esther had been deprived of hers. But there was no help for it, because in the same codicil he had declared "I will that my executors may settle it to themselves without any trouble or goin to law." Meanwhile Henry Beaker proceeded to sell the three hundred acres in question for his own use and benefit; on the 8th of October, 1754, this tract became the property of Robert Hannah, Jr., of Prince Edward, but the consideration for which it was purchased was left a blank in the record (Prince Edward Deed-Book i, p. 23).

When Martha Baker was making her will on the 20th day of April, 1759, she was careful to make no mention of her sons, Henry and Abraham, and her daughter, Esther Wallace. After conferring upon Caleb, with whom she had resided since the death of her husband, the bulk of her estate, her chief concern was to provide that the legacies should now at last be discharged. Some of the provisions of the will are as follows: "Item: I leave to my son-in-law, Charles Ewing, my still to discharge a legacy of twenty pounds left him by my husband, Caleb Baker, deceased, to him and his heirs forever." "My will and desire is that my executors, hereafter mentioned, let my son-in-law, Robert Ewing, have as much of my stock of cattle and hogs and of my household furniture at full price. as will be of value sufficient

of twenty pounds left him by my husband, Caleb Baker, be not discharged that whatsoever balance appears to be justly due to him be paid out of the residue of my stock and household goods before they are divided." "My will is that if there is a balance due to Samuel Johnston that what ready money I have and is coming to me go towards discharging the same."

In the inventory of her assets were found certain bills receivable amounting to £26, 14sh. 4d. The descendants of Robert and Mary Ewing removed to Logan County, Kentucky, but I have no certain knowledge concerning the descendants of Charles Ewing or of Samuel Johnston. The last named apparently belonged to the Johnston family of Prince Edward County, of which Joseph E. Johnston, of Confederate fame, was one of the most distinguished ornaments. It is not inconceivable that Samuel Johnston may have been the same man who figured as governor of North Carolina in the year 1789.

I have never come upon any facts that tended to support the conclusion that Caleb Baker was a Presbyterian minister, but I should not oppose the suggestion that he might have been a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church. However, I am not aware of any definite historic records in support of that position. His daughter Esther, with whom he seems to have been in unfriendly relations, was the mother of Judge Caleb Wallace, one of the earliest justices of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, and when he was born in the year 1742 he was named in honor of Caleb Baker. Likewise in honor of him my own son, who is one of his descendants, has assumed as a middle name the name Baker. The Wallaces hold him in as great reverence as any of his other descendants. It would be a splendid achievement if all of his descendants might be worthy of him.

Caleb Baker, the son of the immigrant-founder, Caleb Beaker, married Miss Catherine Kennon, daughter of William Kennon, Jr., of the parish of Dale and County of Henrico, and on the first of October, 1743, Colonel Kennon sold to his son-in-law for the consideration of five shillings sterling, "a tract of land containing four hundred acres lying and being in the County of Amelia on the north fork of Buffalo river," and situated adjacent to the lands of Caleb Baker, Sr. By that union the young man obtained a

footing in polite society, supposing that he had not previously possessed it.

Samuel Baker's will was recorded in Prince Edward Will-book 1, pages 295-6. It was presented on the 16th of March, 1782, and was witnessed by Richard Sankey, William Ewing and James Gillaspie. His wife was named Christian Baker; his sons were Samuel, John Glover, Robert and Caleb; his daughters were Martha Ewing, Elizabeth Campbell and Sarah Crockett. I have no information regarding the families of Henry and Abraham, the other two sons of Caleb Beaker, the immigrant.

It would be unnecessary to speculate about the reasons that induced Samuel and Esther Wallace to dispose of their possessions and remove their home some miles away from the seat of the Baker family in Prince Edward. They chose their new home in that portion of the country which was subsequently included in the County of Charlotte. The representations made by me in my volume on the "Life and Times of Judge Caleb Wallace, Louisville, 1888," were somewhat imperfect, owing to the fact that few records of Charlotte County were then obtainable. Judge Wallace was born in the year 1742, and his birthplace was Amelia and not Charlotte County, as there suggested. But it was not in the Amelia of the present day. On the contrary, he is believed to have been born on Fort Creek in the present County of Prince Edward.

The first sale was made by Samuel and Esther Wallace on the 20th of September, 1750, when for £100 they conveyed to John Caldwell four hundred acres on both sides of Fort Creek. Witnesses, Hugh Challes, George Ewing and William Crockett (Amelia Deed-Book 3, p. 254). This was nearly two months before the making of the will of Caleb Beaker on the 24th of November, 1750. On the 5th of May, 1753, for the sum of £50 they conveyed to Alexander Ewing three hundred acres between Fort Creek and Falling Creek. Witnesses: Samuel Ewing, John Fulton and George Ewing (Amelia Deed-Book 4, p. 256). On June 11, 1754, for £50 they sold to Robert Byrd six hundred and eighteen acres now in the tenure and occupation of Byrd, and

page 20). The last transaction that has come to my notice was made on the 11th of January, 1762, when Samuel Wallace sold Philip McTagart for £13 two hundred acres on Spring Creek in Prince Edward (Prince Edward Deed-Book 2, page 67). In this last conveyance Esther Wallace was not mentioned, and it is possible that she had died before it was made.

The life of Samuel Wallace in Charlotte County was prosperous. His son Caleb graduated at Princeton in October, 1770, and entering the Presbyterian ministry, had charge of Cubb Creek Church, and took a large part in the struggle for religious freedom in Virginia. The following notice of him belongs to the darkest period of the Revolutionary War:

"The Rev. Caleb Wallace, a minister licensed to preach according to the rules of his sect, came into court and took the oath of fidelity to the Common Wealth of Virginia which, on his motion is ordered to be certified" (Charlotte Order-Book 4, page 102). The above action was taken at the session of the court held on the 1st of September, 1777.

The first wife of Caleb Wallace had passed away in the year 1776, and on the 11th of May, 1779, he married Miss Rosanna Christian, of Botetourt County, and immediately removed from Charlotte to Botetourt. In preparation for that removal Caleb Wallace, on the 9th of January, 1779, conveyed to William Brown for £1,000 the tract of land containing two hundred and forty acres upon which he resided on the north side of Louse Creek in Charlotte County. Witnesses: Edward Keeling, James Thorp, Richard Hilyard, William Lawson, Paschal Greenhill (Charlotte Deed-Book 4, page 136).

Samuel Wallace had now become an old man, and was much devoted to the company and fortunes of his children. It was not long before he followed his son Caleb from Charlotte to Botetourt. The latest transaction in real estate in which I have discovered him to be concerned is recorded in Charlotte Deed-Book 4, page 235, and occurred on the 9th of October, 1780, when for £9,000 Samuel Wallace, of Botetourt, conveyed to Joel Farmer, of Charlotte, two hundred acres in Charlotte County. The currency of the country must have been in much disorder when such prices as these could be obtained. The records of the

Wallace family declare that Samuel Wallace followed his son to Kentucky in the year 1782, and that he died in that State at the age of ninety-one years.

In my boyhood at Mt. Juliet Academy, in Wilson County, I became acquainted with Paschal Greenhill Williamson, who was a brother of my uncle, Thomas E. Williamson, and I beg leave to raise the question whether this Mr. Williamson may have derived his name from Paschal Greenhill, of Charlotte County, who was one of the witnesses to the deed of Caleb Wallace on the 9th of January, 1779, referred to above; and whether the name Green Hill, which has been given to a station on the railroad between Nashville and Lebanon, can be traced back to that family. The Greenhills appear to have been allied to the Williamsons, and the station of that name is situated in a Williamson community.

The Wallace and the Ewing descendants of Caleb Beaker, of Prince Edward, have both been prominent in the legal fraternity of Kentucky. Caleb Wallace held a seat for many years on the bench of the Court of Appeals; and Ephraim M. Ewing did likewise. Other members of the two families have adorned the profession with brilliant talents and achievements. It is somewhat singular that they should have lived so long together within the limits of the same Commonwealth, and yet should have cultivated so little intimacy and friendship. Granting that family bickerings may have occurred a century and a half ago in Virginia, it is not likely that these should at present influence the sentiments of any living being.

Genealogical Notices.—Reuben, the third son of Robert and Mary (Beaker) Ewing, of Prince Edward County, Virginia, married Ellen Whitsitt, daughter of William and Ellen (Menees) Whitsitt, at Russellville, between the years 1800 and 1804. Issue: William Whitsitt, James Whitsitt, Sarah, Mary B., Ellen and

William Whitsitt Ewing married Sarah Proctor. Issue: Mary Ellen, who married a Mr. Perry and removed to Missouri.

James Whitsitt Ewing married Lucille, a daughter of Cardwell Breathitt, who was a brother of Governor John Breathitt. Issue: Ellen, who married Mr. F. C. Dunnington, of Columbia, Tenn. Mr. Dunnington resided for many years at Nashville, where he was connected with the *Union and American*, a leading Democratic journal. The Dunningtons had two daughters, Lucile and Cobie. Lucile is unmarried. Cobie married E. W. Carmack, who is at present the junior Senator from Tennessee.

Mary B. Ewing married Ephraim Love McLean, whose father, George McLean, had married Pamela, a daughter of General William Lee Davidson, a general of the Revolutionary War, after whom was named Davidson County, Tennessee. Mrs. Davidson came to the Cumberland country with her family in the year 1788, traveling from Clinch River under the protection of a company of soldiers, who began their journey on the 25th of September (*American Historical Magazine*, Volume VIII, page 348).

The issue of the marriage of Mary B. Ewing and Ephraim Love McLean were Sarah Ellen and Davidson McLean. Sarah Ellen McLean married George Thomas Blakey, and an account of their children was given above in connection with the Blakey family. Davidson McLean went to California where he acquired a great fortune and died without issue in San Francisco on the 4th of November, 1897.

Ellen Ewing married Robert D. King, who lived near Nashville, Tenn. They have one daughter, now living in Dallas, Texas.

Elizabeth Ewing married Andrew J. McLean. Issue: Pamela, who married Rev. J. S. Grider, of Bowling Green, Ky., an honored minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

Religion.—It has been asserted by genealogists of the Ewing family that about the year 1796 all the children of Robert Ewing emigrated from Bedford County, Virginia, to Logan County, Kentucky. About the same time the Rev. James McCready, of the Presbyterian Church, came from North Carolina to Logan County, and was settled in charge of the congregations on Gaspar River and Little Muddy River. The Ewings

had been Presbyterians in Virginia, but here they found and entered into the great revival. It was in full swing when the Whitsitts and Blakeys and Breathitts appeared upon the scene from Nashville, in the year 1800.

William Breathitt could not be moved by the great revival that swept over Henry County, Virginia, in 1789, and there is no evidence that either himself or any member of his household was accessible to the influence of Mr. McCready. Mrs. George Blakey was a Baptist, and it has not appeared that she was in any special sympathy with the awakening at Gaspar River. William Whitsitt, Sr., was likewise a Baptist. William Whitsitt, Jr., had a farm and likewise a paper and grist mill on Gaspar River, but his inclinations were hardly friendly to the movement.

The Ewings, however, entered into it with genuine zest and conviction, and in time Finis Ewing, their youngest brother, became one of the founders of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Reuben Ewing was of that faith, and his wife, Ellen, united with him in it. Her sister, Sarah Whitsitt, the youngest daughter of the family, found pleasure in attending the great meetings, both at Gaspar River and Little Muddy River, and before the month of March, 1805, she had married Rees Porter, one of the ministers of the new church. Sarah Whitsitt also became a Cumberland Presbyterian. Mr. Porter came from Giles County, Tennessee, and was in every way a respectable and worthy man. The children of Rees and Sarah (Whitsitt) Porter were a son named Rees Whitsitt, and two daughters, one of whom married a Mr. Smith, and resided in Columbia, Tenn. After the death of her first husband she married Con. Ewing, who is reported to have been a brother of Reuben and Finis Ewing, but I can find no such name in the list. One of their brothers was named John Ewing, and it is possible that he may have been her second husband.

Rees Whitsitt married Miss Elizabeth ————. Issue: Elizabeth, who married Mr. Sweeny and now lives at Galveston,

118, above, that William Breathitt sold out his possessions in Henry and removed to Campbell County, Virginia, in the year 1793. There he purchased an estate of one hundred acres, more or less, on the road leading from Lynchburg to New London, and about two miles from the latter place, which is at present known as Bedford Springs on the maps of Virginia. That property he held until the 14th of October, 1799, when he sold it for £90 to Andrew Thompson. The deed, which may be consulted in Deed-Book No. 5, page 8, of Campbell County, is notable for the fact that in it the name Breathitt is written in four several forms. It provided that his wife, Elizabeth, should unite with him in the transfer, but she failed to accomplish it, an omission that may have been occasioned by the cares of preparation for her removal to the Western country.

The family made a halt in Nashville for several months during the winter of 1799-1800. William Whitsitt, Sr., then residing in Neely's Bend, was making preparations for his removal to Russellville in the early springtime. Moreover, they were solicitous to visit their brother, the Rev. James Whitsitt, in his home on Mill Creek, and James Menees at his new residence near Menees' Spring. As a Marylander through long residence, if not by birth, William Breathitt was glad to consort with the colony of Maryland people in Nashville. One of the foremost men of the young city was Dr. John Sappington, of Maryland. He had appeared in the year 1786, and on the 10th of October made an indenture with James Robertson by which he purchased from him for £10 one-half of Lot No. 24 in the original plan of the city. (Davidson County Deed-Book A, page 64). He was a man of large business, apparently, in the line of drugs and medicines, and of much ability and energy.

In the winter in question he had with him another John Sappington, a son of Mark Sappington, of Havre de Grace, in Harford County, Maryland. It is presumable that Mark Sappington, of Havre de Grace, was a brother of Dr. John Sappington. If that supposition is correct, the younger John Sappington, who had been born in the year 1776, was a nephew of the Nashville merchant. Whatever may have been the facts in this case, there can be no question that the younger John Sappington became

much enamored of Elizabeth, the oldest child of William Breathitt, who was then in her seventeenth year, and that the twain were married before the dawn of springtime when the Breathitts should depart for Russellville. I have previously spoken of the prosperity that attended the enterprises of William Breathitt, but it may be doubted whether he ever experienced a happier stroke of fortune than that which procured him such a son-in-law.

Arrived in Logan County, Mr. Breathitt found a settlement a short distance from Russellville where he reared a noble family. The town of Russellville was in that period an important center, and he was desirous to find a home within its limits. This purpose was accomplished when on the 23d of February, 1816, he purchased the shares of James Whitsitt, George Blakey and Reuben Ewing in two hundred acres in Russellville that had formerly been the seat of William Whitsitt, Sr. (Logan Deed-Book E, page 424) ; but death overtook him near the close of the following year. On the 17th of December, 1817, Cardwell, Edward and John Breathitt conveyed to their sisters, Elizabeth and Susan, and to their brother, George Breathitt, all the interest that they possessed in their father's estate, a fact which shows that he had passed away, and that the elder brothers were generous men.

Of the nine children of the Breathitt family John was the most promising and prosperous. He seems to have begun his career as a schoolteacher, and while engaged in that business to have employed all manner of diligence to become an adept in the art of surveying. Possibly he had studied the early life of General Washington and had become emulous to adopt his methods. Washington was only sixteen years of age when he began the task of surveying the immense tract of Lord Fairfax in Virginia. John Breathitt was hardly more than sixteen years of age when, having been appointed a deputy-surveyor, he began to survey the public domain in the territory of Illinois. In this business he earned money rapidly, and his economy was equal to his industry.

question is ~~the~~ production of John Breathitt. He does not in express terms claim ~~his~~ work, but the relation fits his character and circumstances so aptly ~~that~~ it is difficult to conceive that it could have been composed by any ~~other~~ hand. It seems to have been a journey of the surveying party at the head of which the young man was placed, made partly for business and partly for pleasure, and presents a fair specimen of the art and ~~quality~~ of the son of William Breathitt between the eighteenth and nineteenth year of his age. I have never inspected the original, which was presented to the Tennessee Historical Society by Mr. W. D. Horton, but I should be happy if the handwriting in which it appears could be compared with the acknowledged chirography of Governor Breathitt.

The arguments in favor of young Breathitt, as the author, are too numerous and extensive to be recited in this place. The document constitutes an excellent monument to his memory and supplies an engaging picture of life and manners in our country at the opening of the nineteenth century. The fact that it has preserved this paper and submitted it in the pages of this Magazine to the inspection of students is not one of the smallest services that has been rendered by the Historical Society of Tennessee.

The author of the sketch of the life of Governor Breathitt, found in Collins' "Historical Sketches of Kentucky," reports that "he acquired property rapidly, consisting mostly in lands, which were easily obtainable under the acts of the Assembly appropriating the public domain." The \$2,530 which he carried with him on his journey to Washington appears to have been invested in that way at Chillicothe, Ohio (*American Historical Magazine*, Volume VIII, page 93). But sometimes he felt inclined to invest his surplus at home in Kentucky, and on the 18th of March, 1808, he paid his uncle, William Whitsitt, Sr., for three lots in Russellville \$2,500 in cash (*Logan Deed-Book B*, page 43).

About the time when this last investment was made he decided to lay aside the appointment of deputy surveyor, which he had held so long under the government, and give himself to the study of law. That work was prosecuted under the instruction of Judge

Caleb Wallace, of the Court of Appeals in Frankfort, Ky., and he was admitted to the bar as a qualified attorney in February, 1810. The author of his biography as found in Collins' "Sketches of Kentucky" affirms that in the legal profession "his industry and capacity for business soon secured him a lucrative practice, and from this time he rapidly advanced in public estimation." He was almost immediately chosen to represent the County of Logan in the Legislature and filled that office for a number of years in succession.

A singular triumph came to him in the month of August, 1828, when he was elected lieutenant-governor of Kentucky, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Metcalfe, of the Whig party, was chosen to be governor. It was a significant circumstance that a majority of the Legislature was also of the Democratic party and when the Presidential election was held in November, 1828, General Jackson carried the State by an overwhelming vote against John Q. Adams.

The matter was tried out again in August, 1832, when, after a tremendous conflict, Breathitt was elected governor by more than a thousand majority. But Mr. Clay was himself in that year a candidate for the Presidency against General Jackson, and it was to him an eminent concern that his own State should sustain him. Every possible exertion was made on both sides, and when the Presidential election was had in the month of November it was found that Clay had been successful by more than seven thousand votes. After that victory the Whig party held the reins for a number of years in the State, but it seems likely that if Governor Breathitt had not been carried away by death in February, 1834, Mr. Clay would have found much greater difficulty in maintaining his ascendancy.

General Jackson recognized his obligations to Governor Breathitt in Kentucky politics. It was especially grateful to his feelings that on February 2, 1833, Breathitt should have induced the Legislature to pass a series of resolutions expressly disavowing the doctrine that had been contained in the famous

due to the intimacy that he cultivated with Breathitt, that General Jackson should have conceived the idea of inviting George, the youngest brother of the governor, to act as his private secretary. George Breathitt was employed in that capacity when he died in the year 1833.

Genealogical Notices.—It has been signified on page 115 above that William Breathitt married Elizabeth Whitsitt in the year 1783. The issue of this marriage were Jane (Kelley), Cardwell, John, James, Edward, Ellen, Elizabeth, Susan and George Breathitt.

Jane, the oldest child of this union was born in 1783 in Henry County, Virginia, and died at "Fox Castle," the seat of her husband, in Saline County, Missouri, on the 14th of December, 1851, in the sixty-ninth year of her age. She was the eldest and also the last surviving member of her father's family. She married John Sappington at Nashville, Tenn., in the winter of 1799-1800. He subsequently took a medical degree at Philadelphia and became an eminent physician in Central Missouri, where he had established his home. For many years Dr. John Sappington was the intimate friend and supporter of Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. The children of the Sappington family were Eliza, Lavinia, Erasmus D., William B., Jane, Louisa, Catharine, Sarah and Mary Ellen Sappington.

Eliza, Jane and Louisa Sappington were all three at different times wives of Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, of Missouri, but I have no information regarding the issue of these marriages.

Lavinia married Governor M. M. Marmaduke, of Missouri. Issue: John S. Marmaduke, who in the year 1889 was also governor of Missouri. One of the daughters of Governor M. M. Marmaduke married her cousin, Mr. Lev. Howard, of Russellville, Ky.

Erasmus Darwin Sappington married Miss Penelope Breathitt, the eldest daughter of Governor John Breathitt, who was born in 1822 at Russellville, and died on the 26th of June, 1904, at Pueblo, Col., whither she had gone a few days previously to visit her daughter, Mrs. Garnett. Mrs. C. Lester Hall, of 2720 Troost avenue, Kansas City, Mo., is another daughter of this marriage.

William B. Sappington married Mildred, another daughter of

Governor Breathitt, but I know nothing regarding the issue of that union. Sarah died without issue. I have no information concerning Catharine and Mary Ellen, the two remaining Sappington children.

Cardwell, the oldest son of William and Elizabeth Breathitt, was a merchant in Russellville, and married ————. Issue: Lucile, who married James Whitsitt, a son of Judge Reuben Ewing, and an account of their family was recorded above in connection with the Ewing family. Cardwell Breathitt died in 1834.

John Breathitt, who was governor of Kentucky, married first Miss Penelope Whitaker. Issue: Cardwell, Penelope and Mildred. Cardwell, married Mary E. Slaughter, of Russellville, in 1843, and removed to Saline County, Missouri, about the year 1850, where he has lately died. Issue: John, Elizabeth and Philip Breathitt.

The second wife of Governor Breathitt was Miss Harris, a daughter of Richard Harris, of Chesterfield County, Virginia. His biographer in Collins' "Historical Sketches" affirms that Governor Breathitt had a daughter by his second marriage.

James, the next child of William and Elizabeth Breathitt, was a lawyer in Hopkinsville. He married first ————. Issue: Major John W. Breathitt, at present and for many years past post master of the City of Hopkinsville. Major Breathitt married Miss Webber, of Hopkinsville. Issue: Peyton, Harvey, James, Gus., Elizabeth, Caroline, John and Katherine.

Peyton Breathitt, son of Major Breathitt, married ————. Issue: Fanny, James, Catherine and Webber.

James Breathitt married a second time, his wife being Miss Harvie, of Frankfort, Ky. No issue. James Breathitt died in 1837.

Ellen, the second daughter of William and Elizabeth Breathitt, died unmarried at eighteen years of age in the year 1813.

Edward Breathitt, a physician, who resided at Nashville, Tenn., died in 1837. Elizabeth, the next child, married Mr. Howard, of Russellville. Issue: Mary Ellen, who married Anthony Long, of Russellville, and Lev. Howard, mentioned above, who married his cousin, one of the daughters of Governor Marmaduke, of Missouri. Elizabeth Breathitt died in 1834.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF FRANKLIN.

[A convention assembled at Jonesboro in December, 1784, adopted a temporary Constitution for the State of Franklin, which was referred to a subsequent convention, to be held not earlier than six months nor later than twelve months from that date, for final action.

This second Convention met at Greeneville, November 16, 1785. There was a great diversity of sentiment among the delegates to this Convention. Finally, a committee was appointed to prepare a Form of Government, which should be reported to the whole Convention. The report of this committee having been laid before the Convention, was rejected in the lump, and the Constitution of North Carolina, with such amendments as appeared necessary, was adopted.

In the January number, 1896, of the *American Historical Magazine* (Volume I, page 48), we published in full the report of this committee, of which only an imperfect fragment was known to be in existence until 1880. In the introduction to that publication we stated that, "No copy of this provisional (Jonesboro) Constitution is extant, and its features can only be conjectured."

We are delighted to be able, in this issue, to give our readers a complete copy of the lost Jonesboro Constitution. It was found tied up in a little paper box in the office of the Insurance Commissioner on the third floor of the capitol at Raleigh, and is printed in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* of September 25, 1904. As printed it contains verbal inaccuracies, but in the main is no doubt substantially correct. Such glaring errors as printing the date of the Convention "17th Decr. Anno Dom. 1787" we have corrected so as to make it read "1784," the date when the Convention actually met.

The instrument is interesting and also unique in that it contains, in addition to the Constitution and bill of rights, a Declaration of Independence.]

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Your committee appointed to collect and adjust the reason which impels us to declare ourselves Independent of North Carolina Report as follows (to wit) Whereas we the freedmen inhabitants of part of the Country included in the limits of an Act of North Carolina Ceding certain vacant Territory to Con-
~~gress have declared ourselves Independent of North Carolina~~

First. That the Constitution of North Carolina declares that it shall be Justifiable to erect New States Westward when ever the Consent of the Legislative shall Countenance it, & this Consent is implied we conceive in the Cession act which has thrown us into such a citation that the influence of the Law in common cases became almost a nullity & incriminal Jurisdiction had intirely seased which reduced us to the verge of anarchy.

2nd.—The Assembly of North Carolina have detained a Certain quantity of Goods, which was procured to satisfy the Indians for the lands we possess which detainure we fully conseive has so exasperated them that they have actually committed hostilities upon us & we are alone impeled to defend ourselves from these raviges.

3rdly. The resolutions of Congress held out from time to time encouraging the erection of New States have appeared to us ample encouragement.—

4thly. Our local situation is such that we not only apprehend that we should be seperated from North Carolina; but almost evrry sensible disinterested traviler has declared it incompatible with out Interest to belong in union with the Eastern part of the State for we are not only far removed from the Eastern part of North Carolina. But seperated from them by high & almost impassable mountains which naturally divide us from them have proved to us that our interest is also in many respects distinct from the inhabitants on the other side & much injured by an union with them.

5th. And lastly we Unanimously agree that our lives, liberties and Prosperity can be more secure & our happiness much better propagated by our separation & consiquently that it is our duty and unalienable right to form ourselves into a new Independent State—

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

A Declaration of rights mads by the representatives of the Freemen of the State of Franklin—

1st. That all Political power is vested in & derived from the people only—

2nd Sec. That the people of this State ought to have the sole & exclusive right of regulating the Internal Government thereof—

3d. Sec. That no man or set of men, are intitled to exclusive or separte Emoluments or Privileges from the community. But in consideration of Public services—

5th Sect. That all powers of suspending laws or the execution of laws, by any authority without the consent of the Representatives of the People is injurious to their Rights & ought not to be exercised.—

6th Sect. That Elections of Members to serve as representatives in General Assembly ought to be free.—

Sect. 7th. That in all prosecutions every man has a right to be informed of the accusation against him, and to confront the accusers & witnesses with other Testimony & shall not be compelled to give Evidence against himself.

8th Sect. That no freeman shall be put to answer any criminal Charges, but by indictment Presentment or Impeachment.—

9th Sect. That no freeman shall be convicted of any Crime but by the unanimous verdict of a Jury of good & Lawfull men in open Court as heretofore used.—

10th Sect. That excessive Bail should not be required nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel Punishments inflicted.—

11th Sect. That General Warrants, whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded to search suspected places without Evidence of the fact Committed, or to seize any person or persons not named whose offences is not particularly described & supported by evidence, are dangerous to Liberty, & ought to be granted.—

12th Sect. That no freeman ought to be taken imprisoned, or dismissed of his freehold Liberties or Privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner but by the Laws of the land.—

13th Sect. That every freeman restrained of his liberty is entitled to a remedy to inquire into the lawfulness thereof & to remove if unlawfull & that such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed.—

14th Sect. That in all Controverses at law respecting property the Ancient mode of trial by Jury is one of the best securities of the rights of the people & ought to remain sacred & inviolable.

15th Sect. That the freedom of the press is one of the great Bulwarks of liberty, & therefore ought never to be restrained.—

16th. That the people of this State ought not to be taxed, or made Subject to the payment of any impost or duty without the consent of themselves or their Representatives in General Assembly freely given.—

17th. That the people have a right to bear arms for the defence of the State; and as Standing armies in times of peace are

18th. That the people have aright to Assemble together, to consult for their common good to instruct their Representatives, & to apply to the Legislature for Redress of Grievances.—

19th. That all Men have a natural and unalienable right to worship God Almighty according to the dictate of their own conscience.—

20th. That for redress of Grievances and for amending and strengthening the laws, Elections ought to be often Held.—

21st. That a frequent recurrence to a Fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve blessings of liberty.

22nd. That no hereditary Emoluments privileges, or honours ought to be granted an Conferred in this State.—

23rd. That perpetuities & Monopolies are Contrary to the genius of a free State and ought not to be allowed.—

24th. That representative laws punishing Facts committed before the existence of such laws and by them only declared criminal, are oppressive unjust and incoompatible with Liberty, wherefore no ex post facto law ought to be made.—

25th. That the people have aright by the Representatives to enact laws to encourage Virtue & Suppress vice and immorality.

CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution, or form of Government agreed to and Resolved upon by the representatives of the freedom of the State of Franklin, elected and chosen for that particular purpose in convention Assembled at Jonesborough the 17th Dece. Anno Dom. 1784.—

Sect. 1st. That the legislative authority shall be vested in two distinct branches, both dependent on the people (to Wit.) a Senate and house of commons.—

Sect. 2nd. That the Senate shall be composed of the Representative Annually chosen by ballot from each County untill be ten Counties in the State after that period one from each county.—

3rd. That the house of Commons shall be composed of Representatives annually chosen by Ballot four for each County untill there be ten Counties within the State and after that period two for each County.—

Sect. 4th. That the Senate and house of Commons Assembled for the purpose of legislation shall be denominated the General Assembly.—

Sect. 5th. That each Member of the Senate shall have usually

Sect. 6th. That each Member of the house of Commons shall have usually resided in the County in which he is chosen for one year immediately preceeding his Election.—

Sect. 7th. That all Freemen of the age of twenty one years who have been inhabitants of any one County within the State twelve Months preceeding the day of any Election, & possessed of a freehold within the same County of fifty acres of land for six months before and at the day of Election shall be intitled to vote for a Member of the Senate.—

Sect. 8th. That all fremen of the age of twenty one years, who have been, Inhabitants of any County in this State twelve Months immediately preceeding the day of any Election & shall have paid public taxes, shall be intitled to vote for Members, for the house of Commons for the County in which he resides.—

Sect. 9th. That all persons possessed of a freehold in any Town in this State having a right of representation & also all freemen who have been Inhabitants of any such Town twelve Month next before & at the day of Election & shall have paid public taxes Shall be intitled to vote for a Member to represent such Town in the house of Commons provided always That this Sect. Shall not Intitle any inhabitant of Such Town to vote for Members of the house of Commons for the County in which he may reside nor any freeholder in such County who resides without or beyond the limits of such town to vote for a Member for said Town.—

Sect. 10th. That the Senate & house of Commons when met shall each have power to chose a speaker and other there officers be Judges of the quallifications and Elections of there Members set upon there own adjournment from day to day & prepare bills to be passed into laws. The two houses shall direct writs of Election for supplying intermediate vacances and shall also Jointly by Ballot adjourn Themselves to any future day & place.—

Sect. 11th. That all Bills shall be read three times in each house before they pass into laws & be signed by the Speaker of Both houses and Motion and seconded the yeas & nays. shall be taken on the passing of any act and printed with the same.—

Sect. 12th. That every person who shall be chosen A Member of Senate or house of Commons or appointed to any Office or place of Trust before taking his Seat or entering upon the execution of his office Shall Take an Oath to the State and all Officers also shall take an Oath of Office.—

Sect. 13th. That the General Assembly shall by a Joint Ballot

Sect. 14th. That the Senate and house of Commons shall have power to appoint the General and field Officers of the Militia and all Officers of the regular Army of the State.—

Sect. 15th. That the Senate and house of Commons Jointly at their first meeting after each annual Election Shall by ballot shall Elect a Governor for one year who shall not be Eligible to the Office longer than three years in Six successive years, that no person under thirty years of age and who has not been a resident in this State above one year and shall, and having in the State a freehold in land & Tenements above the Value of two Hundreds & fifty pounds shall be Eligible as a Governor.—

Sect. 16th. That the Senate and house of commons Jointly at their first meeting after each annual Election shall by Ballot Elect five persons to be a Council of State for one year, who shall advise the Governor in the Execution of his Office & that three Members Shall be a quorum their advice and proceedings shall be entered in a Journal to be kept for that purpose only and signed by the Members present to any part of which any Member present may enter his dissent and such Journal shall be laid before the General Assembly, when called for by them.—

Sect. 17. That there shall be a Seal of this State which shall be kept by the Governor and used by him as Occation may Require and shall be called the Great Seal of the State of Franklin & be affixed to all Grants and Commissions.—

Sect. 18th. The Governor for the time being shall be Captain General & Commander in Chief of the Militia & in the recess of the Genl. Assembly shall have power by & with the advice of the Council of State Imbody the Militia for the Public safety.

Sect. 19th. That the Governor for the time being shall have power to draw for & apply such sums of money as Shall be voted by the General Assembly for the Contingencies of Government & be accountable to them for the same and he also may by & with the advice of the Council of State lay Embargoes or prohibit the Exportation of any Commodities for any term not exceeding thirty days at any one time in the recess of the General Assembly and shall have the power of granting the pardons and reprieves except where the prosecutions shall be carried on by the General Assembly or the law shall otherwise direct in which case he may in the recess grant a reprieve Untill the next sitting of the Genl. Assembly & may exercise all other executive powers of Government limited & restrained as by this Constitution is Mentioned and according to the laws of the State and on his death inability or absents from the State the Speaker of the Senate for the time being & in case of his death Inability or absents from the State. The Speaker of the house of Commons shall exorise the powers

of Government after such death or during such absents or Inability of the Governor or Speaker of the Senate or untill a new nomination is made by the General Assembly.—

Sect. 20th. That in every case where any officer the Right of whose appointment is by this Constitution vested in General Assembly shall during their recess die, or his Office by their means become vacant, the governor shall have power, with the advice of the Council of State to fill up such vacancy by granting a temporary Commission which shall expire at the end of next Session of the General Assembly.—

Sect. 21st. That the Governor Judges of Supreme Courts of Law and Equity and Attorney general shall have adequate Salaries during their continuence in Office.—

Sect. 22st. That the General Assembly shall by Joint Ballot of both houses annually appoint a Treasurer or Treasurers for this State.—

Sect. 23rd. That the governor and other officers offending against the State by violating any part of this Constitution Maladministration or Corruption may be prosecuted on the impeachment of the General Assembly, or presentment of the grand Jury of any Court of Supreme Jurisdiction of this State.—

Sect. 24th. That the general assembly shall by Joint Ballot of both houses, Triennially appoint a Secretary for this State.—

Sect. 25th. That no persons who heretofore have been or hereafter may be receivers of publick Money's, shall have a seat in either house of General Assembly, or Eligible to any office in this State untill such persons shall have fully accounted for & paid into the Treasury all sums for which they may be Accountable & liable if legally caled upon.—

26th Sec. That no treasurer shall have a Seat in either Senate house of Commons or Council of State during his Continuance in that office, or before he shall finally settled his accounts with the public for all moneys which may be in his hands at the expiration of his office belonging to the State and have paid the same into the hands of the Succeeding Treasurer.—

Sect. 27th. That no officer in the regular army or Navy in the Service & pay of the United States Nor any Contractor or agent for supplying such army or Navy with Clothing or provisions shall have a seat in either Senate house of Commons or Council of State or be Eligible thereto any member of the Senate house of Commons or Council of State being appointed to and accepting of such office shall thereby Vacate his Seat.—

Sect. 28th. That no member of the Council of State shall have a Seat either in the Senate or house or house of Commons provided nevertheless that the governor & Council shall attend the

General assembly during the siting of the same and that it shall be a part of there official duty to revise all bills before they can be passed and recommend such amendments as they may think proper.—

Sect. 29th. That no Judge of the Supreme Court of Law or Equity shall have a seat in Senate house of Commons or Council of State.—

Sect. 30th. That no Secretary of this State Attorney General or Clerk of any Court of Record shall have a seat in the Senate house of Commons, or Council of State.—

Sect. 31st. That no Clergyman or preacher of the gospel of any denomination shall be Capable of being a Member of either the Senate or house of Commons while he continues in the service the pastoral function.—

Sect. 32nd. That no person who shall deny the being of a God or the truth of the protestant religion or the divine authority either of the old or new Testament or who shall hold religious principals in Compateable with the freedom & safety of the State shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in Civil department within this State.—

Sect. 33rd. That the Justices of the Peace within their respective Counties in this State shall in future be recommended to the Governor for the time being by the representatives in General Assembly and the Governor shall Comition them accordingly, and the Justices Commissioned shall hold their offices during good behavior & shall not be removed from office by the General Assembly, unless for misbehavior Absence or inability.—

Sect. 34th. That ther shall be no Establishment of any one religious Church or denomination in this State in preference to any other, neither shall any person on any pretense whatsoever be compelled to attend any place of Worship contrary to his own faith or judgment nor be obliged to pay for the purchase of any Glebe or the building of any worship house or for the maintenance of any Minister of Ministry Contrary to what he believes right or has voluntarily and personally engaged to perform: but all persons shall be at liberty to exercise their own mode of worships provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed to except preachers of treasonable or Seditious discourses from legall trial or punishment.—

Sect. 35th. That no person in the State shall hold more than one lucrative office at any one time provided that no appointment in the Militia or the office of a Justice of the Peace shall be considered as a lucrative office.—

Sect. 36th. That all Commissions & Grants shall run in the name of the State of Franklin & bear test & be signed by the

Governor, all writs shall run in the same manner & bear test and be signed by the Clerks of the respective Courts Indictments shall conclud against the peace & dignity of the State. —

Sect. 37th. That the deligate for this State to the Continantal Congres while necessary, shall be chosen annually by the General Assembly, by ballot but may be superseded in the mean time in the same manner, and no person shall be Elected to serve in that capacity for more than three years successively.—

Sect. 38th. That there shall be a sheriff coroners or coroners & Constables in Each County within this State.—

Sect. 39th. That the person of a debtor where there is not a strong presumption of fraud shall not be Continued in prison after delivering up bona fide all his Estate real and personal for the use of his Creditors, in such manner as shall be here after regulated by law all prisoners shall beailable by suffitiant securities unless for Capital offence is when the proof is Evident or presumption great.—

Sect. 40th. That any foreigner who comes to settle in this State having first taken an oath Allegiance to the Same may purchase or by other just means acquire hold and transfer land or other real estate and after one years residence shall be deemed a free Citizen.—

Sect. 41st. That a School or Schools shall be established by the legislature, for convenient instruction of youth with such Sal-leries to the masters paid by the public as may enable them to instruct at low prices: and all learning shall be duly encouraged & promoted in one or more Universities.—

Sect. 42nd. That no purchase of Lands shall be made of In-dians natives, but on behalf of the publick by authority of the General Assembly.—

Sect. 43rd. That the future legislature of this State shall regu-late intails in such a manner as to prevent perpetuities.—

Sect. 44th. That the declaration of the rights is hereby de-clared to be part of the Constitution of this State, & ought never to be Violated, on any pretence whatsoever.—

Sect. 45th. That any member of either Houses of General Assembly shall have liberty to discept from & protest against any act or resolves which he may think injurious to the public, or any individual & have the reasons of his dissent interred on the Journals.—

Sect. 46th. That neither house of the General Assembly shall proceed upon public business unless a Majority of all the mem-bers of such house are actually present, & that upon motion made & seconded the yeas & Nays upon any question shall be taken & entered on the Journals & that the Journals of the proceedings

of both houses of the General Assembly shall be printed & made public immediately after their adjournment.

This Constitution is not Intended to preclude the present Convention from making a temporary provision for the well ordering of this State untill this General Assembly shall establish Government agreeable to the mode herein discribed. Resolved,—

That this Convention Recomend this Constitution for the Sereous Consideration of the people during Six Ensuing Months after which time Before the Expiration of the Year that they Choose a Convention for the Express purpose of Adopting it in the Name of the people if Agreed to By them or altering it as Instructed By them.

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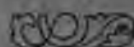
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CONTENTS

Paul Frazarmon's Eye, A.M., M.D., LL.D.	20
Mrs. Anne Royall.	31
Major George W. L. Marr	35
Annals of a Scotch-Irish Family—The Whitatts of Nashville, Tenn.	42
Constitution of the State of Franklin	50

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